The Jaina Sources of the History of Ancient India

The contribution of the Jaina sources to the making of the history of our great nation, during the epoch-making millennium of 100 BC to AD 900, is of vital importance But it has only lacked proper research and application This book presents a brief survey of the more important sources, particularly literary ones, and a discussion of certain fundamental problems such as the dates of Mahāvīra and of the beginning of the Earlier Śaka, Vikrama, and Śaka eras, as well as the dates of important Jaina authors and their works and thus clears much of the fog that masks Indian chronology, both political and cultural

Dr Jyoti Prasad Jain, M A , LL B , Ph D (1912-88), Vidyā-vāridhi, Itihāsa-manīṣī, was an erudite scholar of Indian history and culture He was born in Meerut *and left this carnal world at Lucknow He was a prolific writer both—in English* and Hindi He well deserved the epithet of Itihāsa-manīṣī (Historian *par excellence*) as he brought into focus the hitherto englected Jaina sources for the reconstruction of history of India Some of his other popular works are *Religion and Culture of the Jains, Jainism the Oldest Living Religion, Bhagawan Mahavira Life, Times and Teachings, Bhāratīya Itihāsa Eka Dṛṣṭi, Pramukha Aitihāsika Jaina Puruṣa aur Mahilāyen,* and *Jaina-jyoti Aitihāsika Vyaktikośa*

The Jaina Sources of the History of Ancient India
(100 BC–AD 900)

Jyoti Prasad Jain

Munshiram Manoharlal
Publishers Pvt. Ltd.

Contents

Preface to the Second Edition

THIS MONUMENTAL WORK of Itihāsa-manīṣī Dr Jyoti Prasad Jain has been out of print for quite some time It is very much sought after by scholars and students interested in the history of Ancient India

We are thankful to late Shri Devendra Jain, Director, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, for publishing the second edition with the permission of the Jyoti Prasad Jain Trust in which vests the copyright of Dr Jain's works It is a most befitting tribute to the memory of the author in the seventeenth year of his demise

SHASHI KANT

Jyoti Nikunj, Charbagh, Lucknow
14 May 2005

Preface to the First Edition

THE PRESENT VOLUME consists of my studies spread over a period of about two decades in the Jaina sources of the history of ancient India (*c* 100 BC to AD 900) and presents a brief survey of the more important of these sources, particularly literary ones, and a discussion of certain fundamental problems such as the dates of Mahāvīra and of the beginning of the Earlier Śaka, Vikrama, and Śaka eras It was originally submitted as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy to the Agra University

These studies, though by their very nature are apparently detached, have been interlinked and chronologically arranged Some necessary emendations and alterations in the scheme of contents have also been subsequently made

The appreciation of the work by the learned examiners and other scholar-friends has encouraged me to get the work published When the question of choosing the right type of publishers posed before me, my friend, Prof K D Bajpai of Saugor University, came to my rescue and introduced me to Messrs Munshiram Monoharlal, Oriental Publishers, Delhi, who readily undertook the publication of the work I am glad that they have made it see the light of the day and in such a presentable form, too

It is a great pleasure to me to be able to express my heartfelt gratitude to my respected teacher, Dr B R Chatterji, and to the late Dr R S Tripathi for their valuable suggestions Sri Manohar Lal Jain, the proprietor of the publishing firm, also deserves my thanks My sons, Shashi Kant and Rama Kant, have helped me in preparing the press-copy and checking the final proofs

JYOTI PRASAD JAIN

Jyoti Nikunj, Charbagh, Lucknow
15 November 1963

Transliteration

अ—a	आ—ā	इ—i	ई—ī	उ—u
ऊ—ū	ऋ—ṛ	ए—e	ऐ—ai	ओ—o
औ—au	अं—ṁ	अः—ḥ		
क—ka	ख—kha	ग—ga	घ—gha	ङ—ṅa
च—ca	छ—cha	ज—ja	झ—jha	ञ—ña
ट—ta	ठ—ṭha	ड/ड़—da	ढ/ढ़—dha	ण—na
त—ta	थ—tha	द—da	ध—dha	न—na
प—pa	फ—pha	ब—ba	भ—bha	म—ma
य—ya	र—ra	ल—la	व—va	
श—śa	ष—sa	स—sa	ह—ha	
क्ष—kṣa	त्र—tra	ज्ञ—jña		

Introduction

JINASENA, the well-known Jaina Purāṇakāra, defines history in the most general terms as an account of past happenings, which must be authoritative, truthful and righteous [1] But he does not necessarily mean this "record of the past" to be a mere chronicle of events As the Greek historian Polybius observed, "If you take from history all explanation of cause, principle and motive, and of the adaptation of the means to the end, what is left is a mere panorama without being instructive, and though it may please for the moment, it has no abiding value " Ancient Indian savants like Kauṭilya and Jinasena had a broad and ultramodern conception of history By their use of the term "Dharmaśāstra" for history they introduced the cultural beside the material factors as essential constituents of historical concept

To serve its true purpose, therefore, history cannot depend on only one set or one type of sources, but it has to make the best use of all the available material which may have been contributed by different sections of the people the life of which it aims to depict

The Jaina community, with its unique cultural heritage, has formed from the days of yore an important section of the Indian people and has been drawing its adherents from all the various races, castes and classes inhabiting the different parts of this ancient country Naturally, the Jainas have contributed a good deal of material which may well be used as a valuable source of history

The Jaina sources are neither mean nor meagre, but are remarkable for their variety, vastness and chronological sequence They are spread over the whole range of historical times and are connected with practically every part of the country and with almost every phase of its past history At the same time they are no less authentic than the contemporary and similar Buddhist or Brahmanical sources In the words of B Ch Chhabra, "It is an established fact that Jaina literature is as extensive as Buddhist literature, if not more so. The historical information contained in it is supposed to be of a more reliable nature, and is expected to add vastly to our existing knowledge "[2] K A Nilakanta Sastri observes that "the Jaina books form one of the primary sources of our knowledge of the

internal history of India from the seventh century BC to the rise of the Mauryan empire And though these books, no less than the Vedic literature, devote themselves more to religious ideas and movements than to historical events, they contain many incidental references to states and their relations which, when sifted, give a clearer idea of the politics of the time than the meagre and confused traditions in the Purānas "[3]

From the times of the Mauryas onwards right up to the advent of the Muslims, and in some respects even up to the end of the Muslim period, the Jaina material constitutes a good secondary source In some cases, as that of Gujarat and several of the principal states of the Deccan and the South, histories of these regions could be reconstructed chiefly with the help of their respective Jaina sources And for the prehistoric times, prior to the age of Mahāvīra and the Buddha, the Jaina traditions should have the same value and importance as the corresponding Brahmanical traditions Their mutual agreements and differences, if comparatively studied and critically examined, may reveal many a hitherto unknown fact and may push back farther the limits of historical times

Moreover, the ancient Jainas seemed to have a love for dates and exactness which is evident from their numerous pontifical genealogies and dynastic chronologies, the dated colophons of their works and of the latter's successive manuscript copies, the historical and even prehistorical traditions recorded with corresponding dates and periods in later works, and from their inscriptional records which reach back to the fifth century BC K P Jayaswal once remarked that among the Hindus the Jainas alone have preserved a complete and admirable chronology for the two and a half thousand years or so after Mahāvīra's death [4] Buhler also speaks very highly of the authenticity of Jaina traditions and of their value and importance to history [5] In fact, the Jaina sources, have a superiority over other sectarian sources in so far as chronology is concerned, especially for the history of ancient India With their aid many an unknown or doubtful date can be fixed, while those already fixed can further be confirmed A rational use of these sources can often dispel the confusion usually arising from a similarity of names and circumstances Besides, the account of historical development of almost every branch of Indian learning and art and of cultural phases and social institutions would be incomplete without incorporating in them the corresponding contributions made by the Jainas

As a religious and cultural system Jainism is purely indigenous and has many primitive conceptions It is believed to be the oldest living

representative of that ancient Śramana current of Indian culture which was, in its origin, non-Vedic and probably non-Aryan and even pre-Aryan too [6] It, at least, is a direct representative of the ancient Magadhan culture which represented the stream that was known as Śramaṇic in contrast to the Brahmanic current of Indian culture.[7] Śramana is a peculiarly Jaina term used to designate a Jaina monk Mahāvīra is uniformly mentioned as *Samane Bhagavam Mahāvīre* in the Jaina texts.[8]

We need not go into a detailed exposition of the tenets and doctrines of Jainism [9] It should suffice to mention that as a religion, it is a complete system with all the necessary branches such as dogma or ontology, metaphysics, philosophy, mythology, ethics, ritual and the rest. And it was Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, the last and twenty-fourth Tīrthaṁkara who, in the sixth century BC, gave to Jainism its final shape and reorganised the fourfold order of Jaina monks and laity, male and female.

After Mahāvīra's *nirvāna,* this Jaina Saṁgha, by zealously contributing to the all round progress of its religion and culture throughout India during the past twenty-five centuries, highly enriched Indian culture in a number of ways Vast and varied literature, both religious and secular, numerous monuments, antiquarian remains and artistic relics, beautiful temples, peaceful places of pilgrimage and humanitarian establishments, some characteristic festivals, social practices and institutions, the influence of its ideas on life and thought, and the fact that all these are found scattered among different peoples and parts of the country, bear powerful testimony to its wide prevalence and popularity at one time And it has been one of the foremost contributors to the cultural unity and historical oneness of India and the Indian people This religion and its culture have been known by different names and epithets in different times and places, viz , Ṛṣabha cult, Ahimsā Dharma, Yogamārga, Vrātya, Arhat, Śramana or Nirgrantha Dharma, the Gymnosophist or Gymnetai, Syādvāda or Anekāntamata, the Samāni, the Bhavya, the Sarāka, Bhāvaḍe, Sewade, Śrāvaka, Sarāogī, Jaina, etc [10] It may be added that Jaina missionaries were the first preachers and religious teachers to devote to the indigenous population.[11]

Since the advent of Islam into India, however, Jainism has generally suffered in the number of its adherents, royal and popular patronage, its political and communal power and even in its religious and ethical influence But notwithstanding this apparent decline in its fortunes, Jainism is still a living religion and the Jaina community still forms an important section of the middle and upper middle classes of Indian

people. It has also preserved in a large measure the originality and integrity of its system as also its remarkable cultural heritage which is quite rich in historical material as well.

The fixing up of the historicity of Jainism in modern times has an interesting history of its own. It was only towards the close of the last century that the researches of Jacobi together with those of Bühler, Guerinot and several other scholars proved beyond doubt that Mahāvīra, the last Jaina Tīrthamkara, was not only a senior contemporary and powerful rival of Gautama Buddha, but that at the period of Mahāvīra, and even before it, Jainism had been for a considerable time a firmly established religion, and that Mahāvīra did only reform it as he also reorganised the order of the ascetics.[12]

As to the inception of Jaina studies in modern times the first conscious contributions to Jainism of early European orientalists commenced with the writings of Lt. Wilfred, viz., "On the Antipathy of the Brahmins to the Jainas" and "An Account of the Jainas and their Religion."[13] In AD 1809 was published Col. Mackenzie's "An Account of the Jains."[14] He was fortunate in obtaining the cooperation of a Jaina Pandit, probably Devacandra, the reputed author of the *Rājāvalīkathe*, which facilitated his investigations about the Jainas and their religion. The same year H. T. Colebrooke's "Observations on the Jainas" was published.[15] This most eminent Sanskritist amongst early orientalists was the first scholar in modern times to give a tolerably correct and unprejudiced information about Jainism and to be impressed with the independent and antique character of this religion. In 1825, Father J. A. Dubois published his *Memoirs* from Paris, and they contained much appreciative material on the Jaina community and its religion. At this very time Col. James Tod was compiling his monumental work *The Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* with the help of another Jaina scholar, Yati Jñānacandra. In these *Annals*, Tod, while dealing with the history of the various Rājpūt clans and kingdoms of Rajasthan also gave valuable information about the part played by the Jainas in the religious, social and political life of those regions. It was also in 1825 that A. Sterling, by publishing his paper on "The Jaina Caves of Orissa," was the first to start studies in Jaina archaeology and epigraphy. In 1827, Franklin, Hamilton and Delmaine published their respective papers on Jainism. And up to the middle of the century H. H. Wilson, J. Stevenson, J. Prinsep, J. Fergusson and other scholars by their respective writings gave more and more information about Jainism and Jaina culture.

But a systematic study and scientific research in Jaina religion, philosophy, culture, history and literature came to be seriously undertaken only towards the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The printing press had already been introduced into India The movement for printing and publishing old manuscripts was started As early as AD 1850, the first Jaina work, *Sādhuvandanā* of Banarsidas (*c* AD 1640), was published from Agra In the last quarter of the century several Jaina periodicals were started and cultural associations were formed A number of Jaina scholars and leaders began to give willing cooperation to orientalists and other scholars working in this field

It was at this time that oriental scholars got access to the Jaina Bhaṇḍāras Due to the efforts of some provincial governments many Jaina manuscripts were brought to light, some of them were welcomed by European universities that were taking keen interest in Indological studies, and many others were collected and catalogued in India by experts The reports prepared by Bhandarkar, Peterson, Hiralal and others contained such a rich harvest of new material that many scholars came to be interested in the study of Jaina literature and chronology as a part of Indian literature and history The impetus thus gained created the need for a Jaina Bibliography And it was readily fulfilled by the French scholar A Guerinot through his *Essai de Bibliographica Jaina* and *Repertoire le Epigraphica Jainica* They are very comprehensive works and deal with references up to AD 1905 *The Jaina Bibliography*[16] by B Chhotelal attempted to supplement Guerinot's work by bringing up the references to AD 1925 R B Lala Parasdas of Delhi had also published in 1930 his *Jaina Bibliography,* no 1, which dealt with some 1,294 works having Jaina references A remarkable catalogue of Jaina manuscripts has been prepared in 1944 by H D Velankar of Bombay and published by Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune, under the name of *Jinaratnakośa* It is an alphabetical register of some ten thousand Jaina works and their authors, giving brief descriptions of each The author of the present work has also prepared a descriptive catalogue of all the Jaina works published in different languages since the beginning of printing up to AD 1945, and their number reaches to about 6,000 Of these, more than 300 are in English or other European languages, about 250 of them being original while some 60 are translations of old Jaina works.[17] Several collections of Jaina inscriptions and Jaina manuscript-colophons and catalogues of manuscripts in Jaina Bhaṇḍāras have been published In the past few decades English and Hindi translations, editions

and compilations of many important Jaina works—metaphysical, philosophical, scientific, literary, historical and others—have been produced, and some of these editions are critical and of a high standard. Besides these, a number of historical books relating to Jainism have also been published. These are Vincent A Smith's *Jaina Stupa and Other Antiquities of Mathura,* M S. Ramaswami Ayyangar's *Studies in South Indian Jainism,* P Sheshagiri Rao's *Jainism in the Deccan* and *Āndhra Karnāṭa Jainism,* C J Shah's *Jainism in Northern India,* U.D. Barodia's *History and Literature of Jainism,* T N Ramachandran's *Jaina Monuments of India,* B.A Saletore's *Mediaeval Jainism,* Srikantha Sastri's *Sources of Karnātaka Culture,* S.R Sharma's *Jainism and Karnātaka Culture,* Jagdish Chandra Jain's *Life in Ancient India as Depicted in the Jaina Canons,* B.C Bhattacharya's *Jaina Iconography,* M Bloomfield's *Life and Stories of the Jaina Saviour Pārśvanātha,* B C Law's *Mahāvīra—His Life and Teachings,* A Chakravarti's *Jaina Literature in Tamil,* U.S Tank's *Jaina Historical Studies* and K K Handiqui's *Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture,* etc For the past few years the All India Oriental Conference has also been running a regular department called the Prākṛta and Jaina Section and the presidential addresses and papers read in that section in the annual sessions of the Conference give a good idea of the progress of Jaina studies, while Winternitz's "Outline of Jaina Literature" in his *History of Indian Literature,* vol II, and Schubring's survey of Jaina doctrines in his *Die Lehre der Jainas* may be regarded as phenomenal landmarks in the progress of these studies In fact, Jainology has now come to be regarded as a separate and distinct subject

Thus it is only during the past fifty years or so that scholars have devoted some thought to the Jaina literature which had remained so long in partial oblivion, and they are beginning to realise its importance even as a prolific source of history

REFERENCES

1 इतिहास इतीष्टं तद् इतिहासीदिति श्रुतेः।
इतिवृत्तमथैतिह्यमाम्नायञ्चामनन्ति तत।
ऋषिप्रणीतमार्षं स्यात् सूक्तं सूनृतशासनात्।
धर्मानुशासनाच्चेदं धर्मशास्त्रमिति स्मृतम्॥

—*Ādipurāna*, I 24-25

[explaining that इतिहास=इति इह आसीत् (It so happened, here)]

2 Presidential Address of the History Section of the All India Oriental Conference (hereinafter cited as AIOC), sixteenth session, Lucknow, 1951

3 *History of India*, pt I, Madras, 1950, p 39
4 *Jaina Sāhitya Saṁśodhaka* (hereinafter cited as *JSS*), I 4, p 211
5 G Bühler, "On the Authenticity of Jaina Traditions" in *The Indian Sect of the Jains*, pp 21-23 (trans Dr Burgess, London, 1903)
6 J P Jain, *Jainism the Oldest Living Religion*, Banaras, 1950
7 A N Upadhye, *Pravacanasāra*, Bombay, 1935, introduction, p 95, also *Jaina Gazette* (hereinafter cited as *JG*) XXX, p 11
8 Ibid , op cit , pp 87-88, 97, also see Sukumar Dutt, *Early Buddhist Monachism*, p 41
9 For these, see J L Jaini's *Outlines of Jainism*, S Radhakrishnan's *Indian Philosophy*, I, chap on Jaina Philosophy, Upadhye's Introduction to *Pravacanasāra*, Jacobi's "Metaphysics and Ethics of the Jainas," *Jaina Antiquary* (hereinafter cited as *JA*), X, I, p 40, Schubring's *Die Lehre der Jainas*, etc , and the original Jaina works on these subjects
10 A Weber, *Indian Antiquary* (hereinafter cited as *IA*), XXX, p 280, Sukumar Dutt, *Early Buddhist Monachism*, pp 120 ff , *JG*, XXXI, p 6, *Modern Review* (hereinafter cited as *Mod Rev*), 1929, p 499, *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society* (hereinafter cited as *JBORS*), V, pp 554-58ff
11 Gustav Oppert, *On the Original Inhabitants of Bhāratavarṣa* (Westminster and Leipzig, 1893), p 100, also p 62
12 *Sacred Books of the East* (hereinafter cited as *SBE*), XXII and XLV, introductions
13 Published in the *Asiatic Researches* (hereinafter cited as *AR*), III (1779), pp 51 and 192
14 *AR*, IX, p 244 His writings have been edited in the form of *Mackenzie Collection* by H H Wilson Also see J Burgess's *Extracts from the Journal of Col Mackenzie's Pundit*
15 *AR* , IX, p 186
16 Calcutta, 1945
17 *Prakāśita Jaina Sāhitya*, published by Jaina Mitra Maṇḍala, Delhi, June 1958, also see "Jaina Literature in English," *JG*, XLVII, 12, pp 145 ff

CHAPTER 1

The Jaina Sources of History

THE REGULAR HISTORY of India begins with the rise of the Bimbisāra dynasty of Magadha in about the sixth century BC And for the ancient period of our history, apart from archaeology, epigraphy, numismatics and foreigners' accounts, our principal source of information is literature, both secular and religious, produced and preserved by the different sects and religious communities which flourished side by side during that period

The most important communities to whom we are indebted for these literary sources are, without doubt, the Hindus, the Buddhists and the Jainas Of these the Buddhist sources have long been fully studied and explored The Brahmanical sources have also been exhaustively studied and continue to engage the attention of scholars The Jaina sources, on the other hand, have so far been utilized to a small extent The little and scattered work that has been done on them is, however, enough to indicate their possibilities and to impress their value as a rich source of historical material Moreover, the ancient Jainas seem to have had a singular love for dates, and sometimes these dates have been found to be so definite that one often feels that Whitney's oft-quoted remark that "all dates given in Indian literary history are pins set up to be bowled down again," though might have been true in 1879, should be quoted with certain reservations now

To give in brief the genesis of Jaina literature, it may be asserted that the Jainas have all along been a peace-loving community, nurturing tastes and tendencies favourable for developing art and literature In Jainism, greater prestige is attached to the ascetic institution which forms an integral part of the Jaina Samgha (social organisation), made up of monks, nuns and the laity

The members of the ascetic institution naturally and necessarily devoted a major portion of their time to the study of scriptures and composition of fresh treatises for the benefit of suffering humanity

Thus generations of Jaina monks have enriched, according to their training, temperament and taste, various branches of Indian literature The munificence of the wealthy section of the community and royal patronage have uniformly encouraged both monks and laymen in their literary pursuits in different parts of the country The importance of scriptural knowledge in attaining liberation and the emphasis laid on *śāstradāna* have enkindled an inborn zeal in the Jaina community for the composition and preservation of literary works, both religious and secular, the latter too, very often, serving some religious purpose directly or indirectly The zeal of *śāstradāna* had so much permeated the hearts of pious Jainas that they took special interest in getting the manuscripts of books prepared and distributed among the worthy To quote a typical instance, Attimabbe, a pious lady, had a thousand copies of the Kannada *Śāntipurāna* of Ponna made and distributed[1] about AD 973 This zeal for the preservation and propagation of literature assumed a concrete form in the establishment of Śruta-bhaṇḍāras all over the country

The early literature of the Jainas is in Prākṛta, but their authors never attached a slavish sanctity to any particular language Preaching of religious principles in an instructive and entertaining form was their chief aim, and language was just a means to this end According to regions and the spirit of the age the Jaina authors adopted various languages for their compositions The result has been unique, they enriched various branches of literature in Prākṛta, Sanskrit, Apabhramśa, Old Rajasthani, Old Hindi, Old Gujarati, Tamil, Kannada, etc In every language their achievements are worthy of special attention The credit of inaugurating an Augustan age in Apabhramśa, Tamil and Kannada unquestionably goes to Jaina authors, and it is impossible to reconstruct the evolution of Rajasthani, Gujarati and Hindi by ignoring the rich philological material found in Jaina works, the manuscripts of which bearing different dates are available in plenty [2] Their achievements are equally great in Sanskrit literature, the value of which is being assessed by research scholars The Jaina works in different languages often show mutual relation, and their comparative study is likely to give chronological clues and socio-historical facts [3] Moreover, Indian literature, generally speaking, lacks in definite data of authors and their works, but the Jaina author is almost always an exception to this rule If he is a monk, he specifies his ascetic congregation and mentions his predecessor and teachers, if he is a layman, he would give some personal details and refer to his patron and teacher, and in most cases the date and place of composition are mentioned

According to the Jaina belief, the ultimate source of all knowledge is the *Dvādaśāṅgaśruta* as taught by successive Tīrthamkaras, and in the end by Mahāvīra (sixth century BC). The teachings of this last Arhat are believed to have been arranged and classified by his chief disciple Indrabhūti Gautama into twelve principal divisions or the *aṅgas*. The most important of these *aṅgas* was the twelfth, the *Dṛṣṭipravāda*, which in its turn, had five sections. The biggest and most important of these sections was that of the *pūrvas*, fourteen in number. Another of these sections was the *prathamānuyoga* and dealt with traditional history up to the time of Mahāvīra. Besides these twelve *angas*, there was the *Anga-vāhya-jñāna*, again divided into fourteen *prakīrnakas* (or scattered bits). Some of the available *painnas* are said to have been ultimately related to this branch.

The whole of this knowledge was kept intact up to the time of Bhadrabāhu I, the eighth pontiff in succession after Mahāvīra. After him it gradually began to suffer losses and dwindle in volume. Thus by the beginning of the Christian era only a partial knowledge of the more relevant portions of the original canon could survive in the memory of a few eminent teachers. Thanks to the Sarasvatī Movement,[4] the Jaina gurus of this time at last overcame their reluctance to take recourse to pen and paper. The Digambara section took the lead in this respect, redacted their part of the traditional canon and wrote independent treatises on various topics which they claimed were based on the traditional knowledge handed down to them orally in the circle of learned ascetics. The Śvetāmbara section, however, continued to oppose writing for several centuries more, and it was only in the later half of the fifth century AD that they finally redacted their own canonical traditions.

These two sets of the extant canonical texts together make up the more or less complete traditional Jaina canon. The Digambaras claim to have preserved in their canonical texts most of the twelfth *anga* and its *pūrvas* together with fragments from the other *aṅgas*, while the Śvetāmbaras in their *sūtras* claim to have preserved most of the remaining eleven *angas*. That both of them inherited and drew from the common stock which existed before the schism in the Jaina Samgha (AD 79) is proved by many ancient verses and passages found common in the two sets of early Jaina literature.[5] And on philological grounds many scholars are of opinion that portions of these texts may well be assigned to the fifth or fourth century BC.[6]

Thus, though the literary traditions of the Jainas go back almost to the times of Mahāvīra, their literary activity commenced in a

regular form only about the beginning of the Christian era It went on gathering force during the succeeding centuries, and the thousand years from Samantabhadra to Hemacandra (second to twelfth centuries AD) marked the golden age of Jainism in general and of its literature in particular, especially the mid centuries (fifth to tenth) of that millennium

As a possible source of historical information, the known and available Jaina material may be classified as follows

Historical Literature

(a) *Histories*

(I) *Socio-political*—Under this section we have first the dynastic chronologies of India, particularly with reference to Ujjayini, for the one thousand years or so after the death of Mahāvīra These records have been preserved in several works belonging to our period, namely the *Tiloyapannati, Harivamśapurāna, Āvaśyakavrtti, Titthogālipainna,* and *Mahāpurāna,* and in a number of later works like *Trilokasāra, Pariśistaparva, Tīrthoddhāraprakarana, Prabandhacintāmani,* etc [7] From these sources we get three, slightly different from each other, versions of the said historical tradition A comparative study of these will be found useful in reconstructing the political chronology of the post-Mahāvīra period They also throw light on the starting points of the Śaka, Vikrama and Early Śaka eras, and help in fixing the date of Mahāvīra

Secondly, there are works like the *Kadambapurāna, Bhuvana-pradipikā* and *Rājāvalīkathe,* which deal with the history of important Jaina gurus and laymen in the background of general history Although these works are of a quasi-historical nature and of a late date, often mixing fiction with fact, and have also been found to have made many a wrong statement and confused identities or traditions, they still contain much useful material In this connection, mention may also be made of *Mūtā-Nainsi kī Khyāta* which is one of the best mediaeval histories In this work its author has dealt with the history of several of the principal states of Rajasthan in a very scientific and most secular way If a proper search is made of the different Jaina Bhaṇḍāras there is a likelihood of discovering many a historical document, even political chronologies or dynastic lists relating to later times.

(II) Religious—Certain works like the Tiloyapaṇṇati, Jambudvipa-

prajñaptisamgraha, Dhavala, Jayadhavala, Harivamśa, and *Ādipurāna* and the later *Śrutāvatāras* contain a record of the history of pontifical succession for about seven centuries after Mahāvīra's *nirvāna*, of the gradual decline in the canonical knowledge and of its final redaction [8] The Śvetāmbara version of the history of pontifical succession, of the three councils, of the canonical traditions and of their final redaction can be gleaned from the *Titthogālipainna* and the *Cūrnis* of the *Āvaśyaka-* and the *Nandisūtras* [9]

Then there are works like the *Darśanasāra,* Merutuṅga's *Sthavirāvalī* (AD 1304) and the *Munivamśābhyudaya* (AD 1680) which deal with the history of the Jaina Samgha and its subsequent schisms

(b) *Pattāvalis*

Closely related to no (II) above, there are the numerous *Pattāvalis* and *Guruvāvalis* (pontifical succession lists) of the different Jaina ascetic congregations—the Samghas, Ganas, Gacchas, etc , that developed in both the sects during the past two thousand years These documents, besides the respective genealogies, contain the accounts of the achievements of important gurus in greater detail, often giving the names of the royal patrons and devotees of such gurus and also supplying useful historical, cultural and geographical information [10]

(c) *Historical Biographies*

There are a number of biographical accounts dealing with the life stories of some historical Jaina heroes like Pārśva, Mahāvīra, Gautama, Jambu, Bhadrabāhu, Karkandu, Śrenika, Abhayakumāra, Jīvandhara, Sudarśana Seth, Kālakasūri, Kundakunda, Pūjyapāda, Akalaṅka, Haribhadra, etc They, no doubt, chiefly deal with the spiritual life and religious deeds of their heroes and assume a legendary form, yet they are our only source If carefully studied and critically examined they supply us with such salient facts about the lives of these heroes as may be taken to be reliable A few of them were written prior to AD 900 but the rest belong to later centuries

(d) *Prabandhas*

These are collections of similar biographical accounts of ancient Jaina persons of note, mostly historical These works are several in number and were written by the Śvetāmbara scholars of Gujarat from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries Though to a great extent legendary in character

they contain much useful historical material and, in particular, have been found very valuable for a reconstruction of the history of Gujarat

(e) *Colophons*

Colophons constitute our most valuable literary source of history These *praśastis* are generally found at the end of Jaina works, sometimes also at the beginning or, in the form of *puspikās,* at the end of some or all chapters of a work In the works produced prior to AD 600 we usually do not find any *praśastis,* but from the seventh century onwards we find the practice becoming more and more popular

These *praśastis* are generally of three types—first, the *praśasti* of the author which gives details about himself, his religious genealogy, when and for whom he wrote the work, etc , sometimes mentioning the name of the place and that of the ruler of the territory as well, second, the *lekhaka-praśasti* which gives information about the copyist and for whom he copied, etc , and lastly, the *praśasti* of the donor,which gives facts about his family and about the guru to whom the manuscript was given as a gift Such information is more plentiful in manuscripts from Gujarat and central India than in those from Karnataka and the Tamil country In the works of the period under survey only the first type is found as few manuscripts dated prior to the tenth century have yet been discovered In piecing together information about Indian history the *praśastis* of Jaina authors should form a valuable source If these are duly coordinated and studied along with the *pratimā-lekhas,* plenty of which are found inscribed on Jaina images and many of which have also been published, and with other Jaina inscriptions, not only would new facts come to light, but well-known facts would also show interrelations, and we would be obtaining very good results in our chronological studies [11]

(f) *Sundry References*

A number of works, even if they do not contain a regular colophon, often contain sundry references to previous authors of works, particularly relating to their own subject and incidentally even to some important facts about contemporary history References to earlier and by later authors and works, refutations of earlier views of established authorship, the nature of language and contents, quotations from earlier works, etc , are the various facts from which relative chronology of authors can be ascertained This is particularly true of our logico-philosophical

literature which helps in a remarkable way in not only fixing the chronological sequence of Jaina authors, but also of the important Brahmanic and Buddhist logicians and philosophers of the period under review It is customary with our authors to often quote verses of earlier authors either to confirm their own views or to refute those of others Many a time the names of works and authors are also mentioned These quotations often enable us to settle relative ages of and to put at least broad but definite limits to the periods of different authors

KATHĀKOSA AND STORY LITERATURE

Story-literature of the Jainas is very extensive, they seem to have cultivated the art of story-telling from the earliest times This branch of literatue is found in three forms

(a) The *Kathākosas* of which Harisena's *Bṛhat-kathākośa*[12] is the most popular, consists of the several commentaries on the *Mūla-ārādhanā* and of a number of *Ārādhanā-kathākośas* The Jaina Kathā literature gives an important stream of Jaina tradition and is best represented by these works Their authors appear to have derived most of their traditions from an earlier *Ārādhanā* text, the *Mūlārādhanā* of Śivārya, composed in metrical Prākrta and assigned to first century AD But even this text does not appear to be the primary or only source, for the fossils of many a tradition found recorded in it are seen embedded in the literary stratum of the *painnas* (miscellanea) which are included in the canon of the Śvetāmbaras and in the Secondary canon (*anga-bāhya*) of the Digambaras The lower limit to which the *painnas* could be assigned, might be fixed at about 100 BC at the latest [13] Besides the *Ārādhanā-kathākośas* there are a number of other collections of stories such as the *Punyāsrava-kathākosas*, the many *Vrata-kathākośas*, the *Kathāvalīs*, works like *Samyaktva-kaumudī*, and so on

(b) Independent works of fiction such as *Samarādityakathā*, *Kuvalayamālā*, *Upamiti-bhavaprapañcakathā*, *Dhūrtākhyāna*, *Dharma-parīksā*, *Tilakamañjarī*, *Rambhāmañjarī*, *Ratnacūda kī Kathā*, *Śuka-saptati*, etc , include romances, tales of adventure, animal stories, folklore, some fine specimens of early ontological Indian novels and beautiful allegories and satires

(c) Then there are numerous stories generally used to illustrate some metaphysical or ethical truth and found scattered in the commentaries of the Śvetāmbara *Āgamasūtras* and in the ontological, didactic or ethical works of the Digambaras

This Jaina story-literature, besides representing a particular stream of historical tradition relating to earlier times and alluding now and then to contemporary events, often furnishes a faithful reflection of life and society, customs and practices, and of religious, social, economic and cultural conditions of the times and regions in which the different works were composed The importance and worth of the Jaina story-literature has found due recognition at the hands of many Indian as well as European scholars These stories have been found to be purely indigenous and mostly original Their realistic note and entertainment value, it is believed, have made them the principal source of Indian folktales Many of these stories are said to have travelled to Europe via Persia It is said that all the *Pañcatantra* editions published in Europe are Jaina recensions of that celebrated work, and that as a complete book the Jaina *Śukasaptati* (The Parrot's Tale) was translated into Persian and taken to Europe by the Muhammedans The ultimate source of many a European tale has been traced to the Jaina Kathā literature [14]

PURĀNIC LITERATURE

The Purānic literature of the Jainas consists of two classes (a) the Purānas or bigger epics and (b) the Purānic *caritras* or smaller epics

The ultimate source of the Jaina Purānic literature was the *Prathamānuyoga* which formed the third section of the last *aṅga* of the original canon In Mahāvīra's times its bulk is said to have been only 5000 *padas* [15] The comparatively small size of this section of the *Aṅga-pūrva-jñāna* shows that it consisted of brief aphoristic accounts of the nature of *Gāthānibaddha-nāmāvalīs* and *Kathāsūtras* The early Purāna writers are often found referring to such traditional Prākrta *Nāmāvalīs* and *Kathāsūtras* as their principal sources The *Prathamānuyoga* is said to have contained the Purānas of 24 Tirthamkaras, 12 Cakravartins, 9 Balabhadras, 9 Nārāyanas, and 9 Prati-nārāyanas, who constitute the Trisaṣṭiśalākāpurusas or the 63 all important personages of the Jaina tradition It also gives an account of the families of the Jinas, the Vidyādharas, the Cakravartins, the Cāranas, the kings, etc [16] According to one classification the Purānas are of twelve kinds, since they deal with twelve different Jina families and royal dynasties,[17] whereas according to another classification they are of five kinds since they deal with region, time, religious epoch, great personages and their deeds [18] Moreover the Jainas are one with the

Brāhmaṇas in their technical definition of Purāṇa inasmuch as it professes to narrate the dynastic histories[19] and constitutes tradition in its true sense, viz , इत्येवमनुश्रुतम् or इत्यनुश्रुयते[20] (what we heard from our predecessors) [21] Kauṭilya also, in his *Arthaśāstra,* makes Purāna an essential constituent of history,[22] which according to the *Yajurvedīya Śatapatha-brāhmana* was included in the eighteen *śāstras*

The ancient Prākrta Jaina text, *Tiloyapannati,* contains the skeletal material of the Jaina *Mahāpurāna* The first Jaina Purāna, the *Prākṛta Paumacariu* (i e , *Rāmāyana)* of Vimala Sūri, seems to have been written in the beginning of the first century AD Kavi Parameśvara (*c* AD 400) is, by later references, known to have incorporated in his *Vāgārthasaṃgraha* the complete Jaina *Mahāpurāna* on *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* Of the available Jaina Purānas, excepting the above-mentioned *Paumacariu,* the principal ones were written from the sixth to the ninth centuries AD On the basis of these, numerous Jaina Purānas were written in different languages from the tenth century onwards

The practice of writing Purānic-caritras dealing with the lives of individual heroes had also begun by the sixth century AD, and several of them belonging to that period are available Hundreds of others were written in later times

This extensive Purānic literature of the Jainas, as a fruitful source of ancient Indian historical traditions relating to prehistoric times, has the same value as the Brahmanic Purānas and the Buddhist *Jātakas* [23] Besides being lively narratives these works contain vivid pictures of the life and society in its various aspects, as obtained in the times of their respective authors

Geography

Several works like the *Tiloyapannati, Lokavibhāga, Jambudvīpaprajñaptisaṃgraha,* and *Trilokasāra* which principally deal with cosmology from the Jaina point of view in their accounts of Jambudvīpa and Bharatakṣetra give an interesting idea about the geographical notions of ancient Indians The commentaries on the *Tattvārthasūtra* and on the Digambara and Śvetāmbara *Āgamas* substantiate this source on the point The Purānas and the *Āgamasūtras* contain a fund of information relating to the political geography of ancient India as well The 16 states *(mahājanapadas)*, the 25½ *āryadeśas*, the 18 kingdoms (*rājyas*), the 10 capital cities, the boundaries of the Madhyadeśa, names of a number of countries many of which were outside India and were non-

Aryan (Mlecchadeśas), names of numerous cities many of which can easily be identified, names of a number of non-Aryan and even foreign tribes, the different nationalities who supplied different commodities including slave girls to India, the trade routes, and so on, are likely to throw valuable light on the physical, political and commercial geography of ancient and pre-mediaeval India The accounts of and references to the Jaina places of pilgrimage, found scattered in the literature of those periods is also quite helpful in the geographical studies of ancient India, since those places continue to be sacred to the Jainas even to this day [24]

Political Literature

In the *Nītivākyāmrta* of Somadeva (AD 959) we have an excellent regular treatise on the science and art of politics as it obtained in the India of the period under study [25] Besides this remarkable treatise, we find useful discussions of political theory and its application in works like *Ādipurāna*, parva 42 (*c* AD 840), *Dharma-śarmābhyudaya*, sarga 18 (*c* AD 900), *Yaśastilakacampū* (*c* AD 959), *Candraprabhacarita* of Vīranandi (AD 978)

Secular and Scientific Literature

A number of works on the grammar of Prākrta, Sanskrit, Apabhramśa, Tamil, and Kannada, on lexicon, prosody and poetics, on logic and dialectics, on mathematics, astronomy and astrology, and on medicine and other useful topics written by Jaina writers of the period are available In later times many more on these and other important subjects including coins, precious stones, poisons, flowers, birds and beasts, art and architecture, etc , were written In many cases these works by their references to previous works and authors on the subject help in reconstructing the histories of the development of these different branches of ancient Indian learning

Jaina Commentaries on Non-Jaina Works

The Jaina scholars have from the earliest times been reputed commentators They wrote numerous and voluminous commentaries not only on their own canonical texts and other works, but also wrote a large number of valuable commentaries on various philosophical and other secular works of non-Jaina authorship Many such works have reached

us only through Jaina commentaries on them, and had not their manuscripts been preserved in the Jaina Bhaṇḍāras they would have been practically non-existent Pūjyapāda is said to have written the *Śabdāvatāranyāsa* on Pāṇini Twenty Jaina commentaries on *Sārasvata* grammar, 14 on *Kātantra*,[26] 4 on *Raghuvaṃśa*, 3 on *Meghadūta*, 2 on *Kumārasambhava*, 2 on Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*, commentaries on Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa*, Māgha's *Śiśupālavadha*, Śrī Harṣa's *Naisadha*, on *Chandānuśāsana*, *Śrutabodha*, *Vṛttaratnākara* and on many other pieces of classical Sanskrit literature are available [27] Many Jaina commentaries on important Buddhist and Brahmanical philosophical works, particularly relating to Nyāya,[28] and some 24 commentaries on non-Jaina astronomical and astrological works,[29] have been discovered Kolācala Mallinātha Sūri, the greatest and most celebrated commentator of Kālidāsa's and of other classical works, is believed to have been a Jaina,[30] and so also Amarasimha Gani, the author of *Amarakośa* [31] The value of these commentaries is obvious in reconstructing the literary history of our country

RELIGIOUS LITERATURE

This most voluminous stream of Jaina literature consists of the canonical texts of both the sects together with the vast exegetical literature thereon in the form of *Vṛttis*, *Ṭīkās*, *Niryuktis*, *Cūrnis*, *Bhāṣyas*, etc , and of many independent works divided into the four *anuyogas* relating to metaphysics, philosophy, ethics and tradition, respectively Devotional poems, *Mantraśāstras* and ritualistic and consecrational literature also form a considerable part These works in their colophons and sundry allusions are often found to supply important bits of historical information

MANUSCRIPT MATERIAL AND GRANTHA BHAṆḌĀRAS

We have in India numerous Jaina Bhandāras, big and small, which, on account of their treasures of old, authentic and valuable manuscripts, deserve to be looked upon as a part of our national wealth Deva, Śāstra and Guru being the three objects of daily worship, *svādhyāya* of scriptures a daily religious duty and *śāstradāna* an act of utmost piety, a Sarasvatī Bhandāra is necessarily attached to every Jaina temple Older the temple or its locality, greater is the possibility of finding a few or more old and valuable manuscripts in its Bhaṇḍāra.

There was a time when communal orthodoxy came in the way of opening up these treasures to the world of scholars, but that is no more the case Due to the efforts of a number of eminent scholars we possess today various descriptive catalogues of Jaina manuscripts Of the more important North Indian Bhandāras mention may be made of those at Pāṭana (Ahmedabad), Jaisalmer, Idar, Nagaur, Bikaner, Jaipur, Agra, Delhi, Indore, Karanja, and Pune, and of the South Indian Bhanḍāras, of those at Moodabidri, Humcha, Warangal, and Kārkala Most of these Bhandāras have not yet been duly inspected and there are no authentic reports of their manuscript collections Only those of Gujarat are being properly worked upon A catalogue of some of the Karnataka Bhanḍāras, in which piles of palmleaf manuscripts are preserved, has been recently published from Varanasi Lists of some of the North Indian Bhanḍāras have now and then come out in the Jaina monthly *Anekānta* A number of manuscripts preserved in these Jaina Bhaṇḍāras go back to the tenth or eleventh century AD For the study of palaeography and calligraphy this material should prove very helpful [32]

Epigraphy

Innumerable Jaina inscriptions found inscribed on the pedestals of images, on Niṣadyās, Stūpas, Mānastambhas, Āyāgapaṭṭas and metallic Yantras, in temples, places of pilgrimage and other ancient sites and those that exist in the form of donative tablets or copperplate grants, are found scattered all over the country Like the Jaina manuscripts most of their inscriptions are also dated A large number of them have been deciphered, edited and published, in the *Indian Epigraphy* volumes, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, *Indian Antiquary* and other collections and research journals A still larger number yet remains unpublished and even unnoticed They need to be collected, edited and published with standard translation and notes in one collection

Numismatics

A study of coins, seals, dynastic or royal ensigns of some of the ancient kings, ruling dynasties or republican states, in the light of distinctive Jaina religious symbols and mystical signs is likely to prove helpful in numismatic studies and in identifying those rulers as well as in

determining their religious bias Practically no attempt has so far been made in this direction

Iconography

Jaina iconography is an important aspect of ancient Indian inconographic art J Burgess, J L Jaini, D R Bhandarkar, B.C Bhattacharya, H D Sankalia, U P Shah and several other scholars have made valuable contributions to this subject. But taking into consideration the large number and variety of Jaina icons and the rich material available in the Jaina texts, the study of this subject still seems to be in its infancy

Art and Architecture

Jaina monuments of different types have no less value than other contemporary architectural remains In the study of ancient art and architecture and in tracing the evolution of various styles the numerous Jaina monuments and works of art should prove quite useful

Festivals, Customs and Practices

A study of some of the characteristic Jaina festivals and tracing their history back in literature, epigraphy and archaeology would throw interesting light on their origin and evolution. It would further show which of them have been adopted by other communities from the Jainas or vice versa The present author has thus traced references to the festival of Diwālī chronologically and found it an illuminating study The study of the development of Jaina rituals and religious as well as social customs and practices provides us with an angle to study the influence of Jaina ideas on Indian society and that of other systems on the Jainas themselves

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3 For an illustration, see Upadhye's observations on the *Dharmaparīkṣā* in his Presidential Address, AIOC, Hyderabad, 1941, p 15

4 See chapter 6
5. *Pravacanasāra*, Bombay, 1935, Introduction, p 24
6 Ibid , also see Introductions to *SBE*, vols XXXII and XLV, *IA*, IX, p 161
7 See Appendix A
8 See *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, I 1 (i), Introduction (Amraoti), *Jayadhavala*, I 1, Introduction, Mathura, 1944
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12 A N Upadhye, ed , Bombay, 1943
13 C D Chatterjee, "Early Life of Chandragupta Maurya from Jaina Sources," *B C Law Volume*, pt I, pp 609-10
14 For Jaina story literature, see C H Tawney's Introduction to his *Treasury of Stories*, Johannes Hertel's Introduction to *Pañcatantra* and his *On the Literature of the Śvetāmabaras of Gujerat*, pp 1ff , Bühler's Intro to *Daśakumāracarita*, Upadhye's Intro to *Brhat-kathākośa*, *Journal of U P Historical Society* (hereinafter cited as *JUPHS*), XX, 1-2, pp 74-85, Summaries of AIOC, Sixteenth Session, Lucknow, 1951, p 188, *IA*, XLII, pp 241ff
15 Jinasena's *Ādipurāna-Mahāpurāna*, Banaras, 1951, pt I, ch 2, vv 98, 106, 111, and p 40, n 5
16 जो पुण पढमाणिओओ सो चउवीस तित्थयर बारहचक्कवट्टिणवबलणव णारायण णव पणिसत्तूण, पुराण, जिण-विज्जहर-चक्कवट्टि-चारण-रायदीणबसे य वण्णेदि। —*Kaṣāya-pāhuḍa (Jayadhavala)*, Mathura, 1944, pt I, pp 1, 8 Also see *Sthānāṅga-sūtra*, pp 143, 667
17 बारहविह पुराण जगदिटठ जिणवरेहिंसव्वेहिं।
तसव्व वण्णेदिहु जिणवसे रायवंसेय।।
पढमो अरहताण विदियोपुण चक्कवट्टि वसोदु
—*Satkhāṇḍāgama*, I 1 (i) , p 112 (Amraoti edn)
18 सद्धर्म पुराणार्थ पुराण पञ्चधाविदु ।
क्षेत्र कालश्च तीर्थश्च सत्पुसस्तद्विचेष्टितम्।।
—*Ādipurāna*, chap 2, v 38
19 सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वशोमन्वन्तराणिच।
सर्व्वष्वेतेषु कथ्यन्ते वशानुचारितञ्वयत्।।

यदेतेन तव मैत्रेय पुराणंकथ्यते मया ·

—*Viṣṇupurāna*, pt III, ch 6, vv 25-26

20 Cf *Ādipurāna*, ch I, v 149 Also see other verses of the same chapter in which the author has fully explained the meaning of Purāna

21 In his work *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* (p 18), Pargiter uses the word "tradition" in this very sense.

22 पुराणमितिवृत्तमाख्यायिकोदाहरणं।
धर्मशास्त्रमर्थशास्त्र चेतिहासः।।

—*Arthaśāstra*

23 E J Rapson, *Ancient India*, pp 69-70

24 For geographical information in Jaina literature see *Bhārata ke Prācīna Jaina Tīrtha*, Banaras, 1952, *Vīra Vihāra Mīmāṁsā*, Delhi, 1946, *Premī Abhinandana Grantha*, pp 250-68 and 473-91ff

25 See the author's paper, "Political Thought in Pre-Muslim India," *JKHRS*, I 2, pp 71-74

26 See *Jinaratnakośa*, Poona, 1944

27 P C Nahar, "A Note on Jaina Classical Literature," AIOC second session, Calcutta, 1922, *JG*, 1922, pp 64-73

28 *Premī Abbinandana Grantha*, pp 305-22

29 *Varnī Abhinandana Grantha*, p 484

30 B A Saletore, *MJ*, p 377, n 2

31 Mangaldeva Sastri in *Varnī Abhinandana Grantha*, p 313

32 Cf H R Kapadia, "Outlines of Palaeography and Jaina MSS ," *Journal of Bombay University* (hereinafter cited as *JBU*), VI, 2, VII, 2, *Jaina Citrakalpadruma* (Ahmedabad, 1935), Introduction With reference to these Jaina Bhaṇḍāras G Bühler once remarked, "These revered old hoards of the Jaina communities do not contain forgeries, but genuine relics of very ancient times " *IA*, X, p 44

CHAPTER 2

The Date of Mahāvīra's Nirvāna

THE DATE OF Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, the last Jaina Tīrthamkara, is one of the earliest landmarks in the chronology of ancient India, while it is the very sheet-anchor of Jaina chronology All dates backwards and forwards are counted from the time of Mahāvīra's *nirvāna* which was the starting point of the current Jaina or Mahāvīra era This event is said to have taken place 250 years after the *nirvāna* of Pārśva, the twenty-third Tīrthamkara, and three years and eight and a half months before the close of the fourth cycle (*caturtha kāla*) of the current *avasarpinī* of the present *kalpa* [1] It coincided with the attainment of *kaivalya* or Arhathood by Mahāvīra's chief disciple and successor Indrabhūti Gautama and by the coronation at Ujjayinī of Pālaka, the son of Canda Pradyota, the king of Avantī The *nirvāna* is said to have taken place 461 years before the first entry of the Śakas in the Ujjayinī region, 470 years before the commencement of the Vikrama era, 605 years and 5 months before the starting point of the Śaka era, 683 years before the total loss of the verbal tradition of the original canonical knowledge, and 1000 years before the age of the first Kalki [2] The pontifical genealogy of Mahāvīra's immediate successors runs for 683 years after him, and thence onward, with this as base, begin the histories and genealogies of the different Samghas, Ganas, Gacchas, etc But for this tradition we could not have reconstructed the early ecclesiastical as well as literary history of the Jainas and fixed the dates and settled the sequence of most of the important Jaina gurus and authors of the early centuries of the Christian era And not only did the Jainas make use of the Mahāvīra era in many of their traditions to denote the dates of persons and events but it was also used by some Jaina authors to denote the date of the completion of their works, and even in some inscriptions It is still in use for religious purposes

Vardhamāna Mahāvīra himself occupies an important place in the history of ancient India A mass of tradition, found recorded in Jaina literature beginning from before the commencement of the Christian

era, contains useful and often minute details about his life and times [3] His father Siddhārtha was a Kṣatrīya prince of Kāśyapa *gotra* and was the head of the Jñātṛka[4] clan of the Licchavis of Kuṇḍagrāma near Vaiśālī (identified with Basārh in district Muzaffarpur, Bihar).[5] His mother Triśalā, also called Priyakāriṇī,[6] was a daughter of king Ceṭaka of Vaiśālī, who was also the head of the Vajjian confederacy of republican states [7] Through his mother Mahāvīra was also related to the ruling houses of Magadha, Kāśī, Kosala, Vatsa, Avantī, Campā, and Sindhu-Sauvīra,[8] At about the age of 29 he renounced the world, practised severe austerities for the next 12 years and finally attained enlightenment *(kaivalya)* For the next 30 years or so he wandered from place to place, preaching his faith in the common language of the masses—the Ardhamāgadhī [9] Mahāvīra's was an outstanding personality and he was a great teacher who is said to have been looked upon as a formidable rival by Gautama Buddha himself [10] The latter seems to have been a junior contemporary of Mahāvīra The Jainas have scrupulously preserved important details including the exact times and astral indications of the five auspicious events (*kalyānakas*) of his life And it is stated that Mahāvīra attained *nirvāna* at Pāvā, at the age of 71 years, 6 months and 18 days, in the last watch of the night of the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight of the month of Kārttika, the *naksatra* at that time being Svāti [11]

The ancient Jainas have left no room for doubt or uncertainty as regards the date of Mahāvīra's *nirvāna* In the present times, they, with practically no exception, and all over the country, seem to believe this era to have started in 527 BC, and have for long been using it as such Scholars have also generally accepted this date But there are some who still entertain serious doubts and have made the date considerably controversial

The different views on this point may broadly be classed into three categories

(a) Those which advocate an enhancement in the 527 years' period of pre-Christian era and take the date farther back,

(b) those which are in favour of a reduction in that period and bring forward the date by several decades, and

(c) those which maintain the date of 527 BC

(a) In the first category,

(i) mention may first be made of those scholars who rely on the orthodox Purānic traditions and the calculations of early mediaeval astronomers [12] We need not consider them as they are not strictly historical

(ii) A Santiraja Sastri of Mysore has tried to identify the Śakarāja, whom tradition places 605 years after Mahāvīra, with Vikrama (57 BC), and thus arrives at 662 BC as the date of Mahāvīra's *nirvāna* [13] The evidence adduced is unworthy of reliance and the arguments given in support lack force

(iii) Dr K P. Jayaswal fixed the date of Mahāvīra's *nirvāna* in 545 BC His main argument was that since according to some Jaina *Paṭṭāvalis* it was the interval between Mahāvīra's *nirvāna* and Vikrama's birth, and not his accession, which is said to have been 470 years, and since Vikrama ascended the throne and started his era at the age of 18 in 57 BC, Mahāvīra's date should be pushed farther back by 18 years He tried to corroborate his theory by a statement of some of the other *Paṭṭā-valis* which give 219 years as the interval between Mahāvīra and the accession of Candragupta Maurya, which according to him is otherwise fixed in November 325 BC He also tried to reconcile his chronology as worked out from the Jaina sources with the Purānic traditions, identified the Vikrama with King Puḷumāyi, the son of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, and fixed the Buddha's *nirvāna* in 544 BC [14]

The chief defect of Jayaswal's theory is that he made only a partial use of the Jaina sources and only in so far as they supported his theory, and ignored the rest There may have been differences among Jaina writers as to the actual event in Vikrama's life which marked the commencement of his era, but there is absolute unanimity as to its falling 470 years after the *nirvāna* Moreover, he started with the presumptions that Candragupta Maurya became the king of Magadha in 325 BC and that the Buddha had died in 544 BC The former is still open to doubts whereas the latter has definitely been brought down to about 483 BC His identification of Vikrama with the Sātavāhana ruler Puḷumāyi is also given no credit now We do not know what his stand with regard to the date of Mahāvīra would have been in these changed circumstances

(b) The opinion in favour of a later date is prevailing at present A large number of modern scholars are inclined to place Mahāvīra's death in the seventies or eighties of the fifth century BC They base their reasonings mainly on the presumption that of Mahāvīra and the Buddha, both being known to have been contemporaries of each other, the former could not have predeceased the latter by about half a century as the date of his death has now been more or less definitely fixed at about 483 BC. Another and apparently stronger presumption is the date of Candragupta Maurya based on the Greek synchronism, with which the date of

Mahāvīra is sought to be reconciled Thus.

(i) S.V Venkateswara puts forth 437 BC as the date of Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa* Believing that the Buddha died sometime between 485 and 453 BC, and that he could not have died after Mahāvīra, this scholar surmises that the 470 years' tradition relates to the Ananda Vikrama era of AD 33 [15] But there is absolutely no tradition which supports this theory Moreover, as the late G H Ojha showed in his article "On the Conception of an Ananda Vikrama Era," no such era was ever started or gained currency, nor does it find any mention in the *Pṛthvīrājarāso* of poet Canda, as is alleged [16]

(ii) Prof Jarl Charpentier fixed the date of Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa* as 467 BC He started with the presumptions that the date of the Buddha's death was definitely fixed in 477 BC, that according to the Buddhist texts Mahāvīra and the Buddha were contemporaries and that they both flourished in the reign of Ajātaśatru He believed that no person of the name of Vikrama ever existed about 57 BC and further that there was a discrepancy of 60 years between the account of other Jaina sources and that of Hemacandra who stated that Candragupta Maurya came to the throne 155 years after Mahāvīra's death Hence by reducing 60 years from the traditional period of 527 years before Christ, he arrived at the year 467 BC [17] The greatest flaw in his reasoning is that he practically ignored Jaina tradition, the only use he made of it is to find an excuse for bringing the date exactly 60 years forward

(iii) Prof K A Nilakanta Sastri is also of the same opinion and backs his theory with almost the same arguments He is, however, conscious of two difficulties which this theory gives rise to first, that according to it Candragupta's accession would fall in 312 BC, some 9 or 12 years later than the generally accepted date, second, that it would make the Buddha predecease Mahāvīra as against the evidence of the Buddhist texts He reconciles the first by saying that Hemacandra's date for Candragupta (i e , 312 BC) must be taken to coincide with some epoch in the history of Jainism which was near enough to Candragupta's accession for the two to be placed together As regards the second difficulty, he sets it aside by saying, "we may ignore this isolated statement of the Pāli text "[18]

(iv) Prof H C Raychaudhuri suggests 478 BC or 486 BC and 536 BC as the probable dates of Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa*, according to the Cantonese reckoning which places the death of the Buddha in 486 BC, or to the Ceylonese one which places it in 544 BC, whichever is accepted as the basis As between 478 BC and 486 BC, the first date is said to be in

conformity with Hemacandra who is said to have placed Candragupta's accession in ME 155, that is 323 BC in this case, which cannot be far from the truth, but that would be at variance with the clear evidence of the Buddhist canonical texts which made the Buddha survive his Jñātṛka rival Hence he thinks 486 BC is a more likely date as it is also in keeping with Ajātaśatru's accession,[19] in which respect this scholar seems to give more credit to the Jaina and Buddhist traditions

(v) Prof C D Chatterjee also favours this date of 486 BC, because he takes 483 BC as the definitely fixed and correct date of the Buddha and because he believes, on the basis of "clear evidence of the Buddhist tradition on this question," that Mahāvīra predeceased the Buddha [20]

(vi) Prof H C Seth fixes the date of Mahāvīra in 488 BC He believes that the Buddha died in 487BC By making a comparative study of the Digambara and Śvetāmbara chronological traditions he thinks he has found out a discrepancy of 40 years which must be subtracted from the 470 years, the alleged interval between Mahāvīra and Vikrama [21]

(c) The more important views in the third category are

(i) M Govind Pai, relying on the Burmese tradition, works out the date of the Buddha's enlightenment as 546 BC, and that of his *parinirvāna* as 501 BC And since he gives credit to the Buddhist tradition which makes Mahāvīra a senior contemporary of the Buddha, he places the *nirvāna* of Mahāvīra somewhere between 546 and 501 BC, and considers 527BC as the most probale date for that event [22]

(ii) Prof J K Mukhtar supports the traditional date of 527 BC He attempts a refutation of the theory of Jarl Charpentier as also that of Jayaswal by trying to prove that the Vikrama era started neither with the birth nor with the coronation of Vikrama but with his death, and that therefore no addition or reduction in the traditional interval of 470 years was needed He also believes that the Buddha had died some seven or eight years before Mahāvīra [23] We do not know what he would say in the light of the recently fixed date of the Buddha, i e , 483 BC, and if the commencement of the Vikrama era is also proved to coincide with any other event of Vikrama's life and not with his death Same is the case with the Śaka era which he believes to have started in AD 78 at the death of the Śaka king

(iii) Prof Hiralal is also in favour of the same date and uses almost the same arguments He tries to reconcile Hemacandra's evidence by presuming that Vikrama was crowned in ME 410, ruled for 60 years and died in ME 470 when his era started [24]

(iv) Similarly, Muni Kalyanavijaya fixes the date of Mahāvīra's *nirvāna* in 528 BC, and believes the Buddha to have died in 542 BC [25]

These are in short the more important different, sometimes quite divergent, views on the question of Mahāvīra's date And we have seen that they are primarily founded on certain presumptions or preconceived notions and more on external than on internal evidence. If we try to fix this date mainly on the basis of the date of the Buddha, which is still highly controversial, or on the basis of the Greek synchronism which is also not an absolutely unquestionably proved fact, we would not do justice to the problem in hand, at least when the different traditions of the Jainas, the Buddhists and the Brāhmanas are not unanimous about the period of the interval that had elapsed between the death of Mahāvīra or of the Buddha and the coronation of Candragupta Maurya What is needed is that the date of Mahāvīra should be fixed on its own merits, on the basis of some more soild and unchangeable data, and then alone should we try to seek reconciliation, as far as possible, with other traditions and known or proved facts of history

Now, of all the so many eras that started in India in the ancient period of its history, only two have been most popular, have had the widest currency and have survived till today These are the Vikrama and the Śaka Samvats In spite of many controversies as to how each one of them commenced or who was responsible for it, they are known to have started in 57 BC and AD 78 respectively, with the well-known interval of 135 years between them If beginning from the present times we trace their use in literature and inscriptions backwards, we can easily prove their consistency by synchronising their dates mutually as also with those in other known eras or reckonings This process takes us back to well-nigh within a few centuries of their respective points of commencement

From the tenth century onwards we begin to get such synchronisms in more and more abundance But even before that, the Deogarh Jaina Pillar Inscription of AD 862, of the reign of King Bhojadeva of Kannauj, gives its date both in the Vikrama and the Śaka eras as 919 and 784 respectively This is perhaps the first epigraphic record which mentions dates in both the eras simultaneously [26] In the eighth century we have definite evidence that Vīrasena completed his *Dhavala* in VE 838 (i e , AD 780) and he is mentioned by Jinasena in his *Harivamśa,* completed in SE 705 (i e , AD 783) Moreover, both these authors mention several contemporary kings whose dates are otherwise fixed and coincide with these dates In the seventh century AD we get an even more remarkable

instance Harṣavardhana of Kannauj is known to have ruled in AD 606-47 Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, visited India in AD 629-44. Cālukya Pulakeśin II ruled over the Deccan in AD 608-42 He exchanged embassies with Shah Khusro II of Persia (AD 625-26) The Jaina scholar Ravikīrti wrote the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II in SE 556 (i e , AD 634). The Jaina scholar Jinabhadra who completed his work in SE 531 (AD 609), Akalaṅka who is said to have defeated the Buddhists in VE 700 (AD 643), Jinadāsa Mahattara who wrote his *Cūrnis* in SE 598 (AD 676) and Raviṣena who completed his *Padmacarita* in ME 1203 (AD 676), were all more or less contemporaries and, in one way or the other, associated or interlinked with each other This is a sure and well-founded synchronism and quite an early one too Fortunately this multiple synchronism is confirmed by so many and so diverse sources as the Chinese and Persian, North Indian and South Indian, Buddhist and Brahmanical, Digambara and Śvetāmbara, inscriptional and literary And connected therewith we find the specific use of all the three eras, the Mahāvīra, the Vikrama and the Śaka, which is an unquestionable proof of the belief held at least about the middle of the seventh century AD that the relation between these eras was the same as it obtains today, that is, they commenced in 527 BC, 57 BC, and AD 78 respectively In earlier centuries, too, we get several instances which generally corroborate these results, but since these earlier synchronisms are neither so well-founded nor of an absolutely definite nature they need not be discussed here It would suffice to mention that no case has yet been known which definitely or positively disproves the above conclusions

Taking these eras one by one, we begin to find the Śaka era in use from the beginning of its inception for the first 125 years or so in inscriptions from Mathura, from about the middle of the first century to almost the beginning of the Gupta rule in the inscriptions of the Western Kṣatrapas, from about the second century onwards in the whole of the Deccan and south India and even in the Indianised kingdoms of the Far East It also came to be the most favourite era with the Jaina authors and gurus of the peninsula There is also no doubt that this popular Śaka era of the south in general and of the Jainas in particular definitely commenced from AD 78

Similarly, the Vikrama era came to have a greater currency and popularity in upper India, particularly in the regions of Malwa, Gujarat, central India and Rajasthan The Jainas of these parts naturally favoured this era as the basis of their reckonings They never seem to have had

any doubts as to its starting point (i e , 57 BC) and they have been most consistent in maintaining their tradition relating to its inception

Now, the Jaina writers whenever they expressed the date of Mahāvīra, they did it either straightway in the ME or in terms of either the Śaka or the Vikrama era Unlike the Buddhists, the Jainas have never had any difference of opinion regarding the date of their Tīrthamkara. They have been mostly confined to India proper, though widely diffused in practically all parts of the country, and in spite of schismatic tendencies and the predominance of particular sects in particular regions, they remained in constant touch with their co-religionists wherever they were or to whichever sub-sect they belonged

Moreover, the two most important and fundamental traditions which the Jainas zealously preserved and with a remarkable unanimity, were those relating to the Śrutāvatāra (i e , the redaction of the canon) and the Kalki The first gives the pontifical succession after Mahāvīra's death for the next 683 years, informing at the same time how the original canonical knowledge continued to survive till the end of this period in the memory of a succession of saints who could not help its gradual decline and had finally to concede to its redaction The second tradition relates to the Kalki who is believed to have flourished at about the close of the first millennium after Mahāvīra's death [27] In this connection chronological lists of the ruling dynasties, particularly of Ujjayinī, for these one thousand years have been preserved, which end with the Kalki's tyrannical rule

The first tradition forms the very foundation of Jaina literary as well as ecclesiastical history With it as a base we can satisfactorily fix the dates and settle the sequence of most of the important Jaina authors and gurus of the first four or five centuries of the Christian era This also is the main basis of the histories of all the Samghas, Ganas, Gacchas, etc ,especially of the Digambara sect, which in their respective *Pattāvalis* begin their histories from about the end of this period of 683 years after Mahāvīra's death They, however, invariably incorporate at their beginning the account of these 683 years in almost the same words as given in the many sources containing a record of that tradition Moreover, these sources also often throw light on the date of Mahāvīra

Thus Vīrasena in his *Dhavala,* finished in VE 838 (AD 780), giving the genealogy of the 28 immediate successors of Mahāvīra, divided into five groups together with the periods taken by each group, tells at the end that "by deducting 77 years and 7 months from this period of 683

years we get 605 years and 5 months which is the exact interval between Mahāvīra's death and the commencement of the Śaka era " In support, he also quotes an ancient Prākṛta verse which purports to mean that by adding 605 years and 5 months to the current year of the Śaka era we can arrive at the corresponding year of the Mahāvīra era [28] A similar verse is found in an ancient Śvetāmbara text, the *Titthogālipainna* [29] Its first line is identical with that of the verse quoted in the *Dhavala*, but the second line is differently worded though it does not affect the implication Its " the Śaka king came to be" may well be taken to mean " the Śaka era commenced " Yativṛsabha (*c* AD 176) seems to have been the first to record this tradition,[30] and it is corroborated by Jinasena (AD 783),[31] Nemicandra (AD 973),[32] Merutunga (AD 1306)[33] and others It is, therefore, obvious that both the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras have been in perfect agreement as to this interval of 605 years and five months between the starting point of ME and SE, since almost the first century of the Śaka era, which, as we have seen, they believed to have started in AD 78 Hence the date of Mahāvīra *nirvāna* comes to 527 BC

Another class of tradition gives Mahāvīra's date in terms of the Vikrama era The Prākrta *Pattāvali* of the Nandi Samgha, which is also one of the oldest Digambara *Pattāvalis*, the equally old Śvetāmbara *Tapāgacchapattāvali*, Haribhadra's *Āvaśyakavrtti (c* AD 775), the *Tīrthoddhāraprakarana* and several other works unanimously state that Mahāvīra died 470 years before the commencement of the Vikrama era [34] Except the first, all these sources give almost identical chronological tables of the ruling dynasties of the post-Mahāvīra period, each one stating at the end that after four years' Śaka rule at Ujjayinī Vikrama was crowned in ME 470 Even in giving their own date some of the Jaina writers left no doubt as to the fact that the Vikrama era which they were using was the one which had started 470 years after Mahāvīra's *nirvāna* [35] And as they undoubtedly believed it to have started in 57 BC they had no doubt as to Mahāvīra's having died in 527 BC [36]

Another tradition which further confirms this date relates to the great schism in the Jaina Samgha According to the Śvetāmbara sources the schism took place in ME 609 and according to the Digambara ones in VE 136, thus giving the date as AD 82 or 79 [37] The date of the redaction of the Śvetāmbara canon is another instance Tradition places this event in ME 980 or 993 (i e , AD 453 or 466) which seems to be quite correct since Bhadrabāhu III who wrote his *Niryuktis* on the redacted *Āgamasūtras* was an elder brother of Varāhamihira, the astronomer (SE 427 or AD 505)

Tiloyapannati gives the date of the commencement of the Earlier Śaka era in ME 461 which, as we shall see, started in 66 BC This work as also the *Harivamśa* state that the Gupta rule commenced at the expiry of 242 years of Śaka rule, which gives us AD 320, which is exactly the date assigned to the beginning of the Gupta era [38]

The earliest use in literature of the ME is found in the *Paumacariu* of Vimala Sūri who gives his date as ME 530 (or AD 3) The earliest use in inscriptions of this era is found in the Barli inscription of ME 84 [39] One of the Aśokan edicts which is assigned to the early part of that king's reign mentions the figure of 256 for which the possibility of being the year of some era, and probably the Buddha era, has already been entertained by some scholars [40] It could equally well have been in the Mahāvīra era, i e , ME 256 or 271 BC, especially when there is reason to believe that Aśoka might have had Jaina leanings at least in the early part of his career [41] And Khāravela, definitely a Jaina monarch, tells us in his inscription that the aqueduct which he brought into his capital in his fifth regnal year had originally been dug by a Nandarāja in the year 103,[42] which seems to be in the ME, thus giving us 424 BC for that Nanda king The Jaina traditions place the rule of the Nandas from ME 60 to 210 or 215 So the Nandarāja of Khāravela's inscription might have been any one of these Nanda kings In fact, on the basis of Purāṇic traditions, astronomical calculations and the Kalki or Saptarṣi era some scholars actually fix Nanda's accession in 424 BC [43]

No doubt, Hemacandra (twelfth century AD) has stated that Candragupta Maurya ascended the throne in ME 155, which fact has misled many modern scholars But his is the solitary instance of that view, and is at variance with all other Jaina sources, Digambara or Śvetāmbara, earlier or later than himself, who give this date as ME 210 or 215 [44] Even Hemacandra elsewhere gives the traditional date and in another context has also admitted that the Nanda dynasty began in ME 60 [45] Merutunga (AD 1306) noticed this discrepancy but dared not openly refute Hemacandra's authority However, he himself kept to the traditional dates, and did say at least this much, "we do not know how and why Hemaçandra has made such a unique statement—it requires consideration " (तच्चिन्त्यम्)[46]

The date of 527 BC does not affect even the Mauryan chronology as it is believed today, ME 210 or 215 (i e , 317 BC) should be taken to mean the date of extension of the Mauryan rule over Ujjayinī in the reign of Candragupta Maurya He must have certainly taken a few years to

consolidate his position in Magadha before he launched on the career of expansion of his empire [47]

As regards Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, the Jaina tradition has all along made the former, under the name of Śrenika, a near relation, foremost royal disciple and the principal contemporary monarch of Mahāvīra A Śvetāmbara tradition also states that Mahāvīra attained *nirvāna* in the sixteenth year of the reign of Ajātaśatru (Kunīka) But in this period the eight years of his viceroyalty of Campā also seem to have been included [48] Hence, if this king ascended the throne of Magadha in 535 BC, this date will not be at variance even with the Buddhist tradition which places the Buddha's *nirvāna* in that king's eighth regnal year, for even if the Buddha's death *(parinirvāna)* is fixed in 483 BC, his *nirvāna* or enlightenment (attainment of *bodhi*) which had taken place 45 years earlier, coincides with the eighth year of Ajātaśatru's reign

No doubt is entertained as to the Buddha's being a contemporary of Mahāvīra And in the face of the specific statements of the Pāli texts that the Buddha survived Mahāvīra, that the former had always held the latter in high esteem, and that on one occasion, in the accounts of the contemporary Tīrthakas, the Buddha described Mahāvīra as "passed middle age" (अद्धगतोवयो) and himself as only "the newly initiated" (नव्वपबज्जित),[49] there is no reason why Mahāvīra should not be regarded to have been considerably senior, though a contemporary, to the Buddha Moreover, the different Buddhist traditions place the date of the Buddha differently, the Ceylonese in 544 BC, the Burmese in 501 BC, the Tibetan in 488 BC and the Cantonese in 486 BC (some scholars have suggested even 477 or 453 BC) and the recently fixed and now generally accepted date for that event is 483 BC [50] So whatever date from 544 BC to 483 BC or even a few years later be fixed for the death of the Buddha, the fact of his being a junior contemporary of Mahāvīra is not affected Moreover, even after Mahāvīra, within the next 62 years flourished his three immediate successors, Gautama, Sudharmā and Jambu, who, one after the other, attained *kaivalya* and were like the master himself, Arhat Kevalins or Nigantha Tīrthakas So the Buddha was not only a contemporary of Mahāvīra but of all these three Kevalins as well

The date of Mahāvīra's *nirvāna* is thus definitely fixed in 527 BC, on its own merits, confirmed by internal as well as external evidence, and is in no way at variance with any known fact of history There is no need to move it backwards or forwards even by a few years. There is absolutely no necessity of fixing it on the basis of shifting or not-quite-certain

hypotheses and surmises

The age of Mahāvīra at the time of his death is stated to have been 71 years, 6 months and 17 days [51] Dates of important events in his life, therefore, are

Birth—Caitra Śukla 13, 30 March 599 BC
Renunciation—Mārgaśīrṣa Kṛṣna 10, 11 November 570 BC
Enlightenment—Vaiśākha Śukla 10, 26 April 577 BC
First Sermon—Śrāvana Kṛṣna 1, 1 August 557 BC
Nirvāna—Kārttika Krsna 15, Tuesday, 15 October 527 BC[52]

REFERENCES

1 According to Jaina belief the eternal time is conceived to have been divided into *kalpas*, every *kalpa* into two sections, *utsarpinī* (ascending) and *avasarpinī* (descending), each of them in turn into six *kālas* or *yugas* This makes up the cycle of time The starting point of this calculation is the first day of the month of Śrāvana

2 According to Jaina tradition, after Mahāvīra's *nirvāna*, at the end of every 500 years there will be an Upakalki and of every 1000 years a Kalki, both of whom will be irreligious tyrants

3 For example, Kundakunda's *Prākṛtabhaktis* (8 BC-AD 44), *Tiloyapannati* (*c* AD 200), Pūjyapāda's *Daśabhaktis* (*c* AD 500), *Dhavala* and *Jayadhavala* (AD 780), several of the *Āgamasūtras*, and Jaina Purānas

4 Pūjyapāda in his *Caritrabhakti* describes him as श्रीमज्ज्ञातकुलेन्दुना, and that is why he was called Jñātṛputra or Nātaputta—the Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta by the Buddhists

5 See *Vaiśālī* by Vijayendra Suri, Delhi, 1946

6 सिद्धार्थनृपतितनयो भारतवास्ये विदेहकुण्डपुरे।
देव्या प्रियकारिण्या सुस्वप्नात् सप्रदश्य विभु ।।
—*Daśabhakti*, p 116

7 See *Niryāvalīs*, p 27 A Śvetāmbara tradition makes her a sister of Ceṭaka

8 Bool Chand, *Mahāvīra*, Banaras, 1953, pp 12-13

9 For details of places he went to, see *Harivaṁśapurāna*, *Vīra Vihāra Mīmāṁsā*, Delhi, 1946, *JSB*, XII, I, pp 16-22

10 *SBE*, vols XXII and XLV, Introductions

11 पद्मवनदीर्घिकाकुल विविधद्रुमखण्डमण्डिते रम्ये।
पावानगरोद्याने व्युत्सर्गेणस्थित· स मुनि·।। १६ ।।
कार्तिककृष्णास्यान्ते स्वातावृक्षेनिहत्यकर्मरज.।
अवशेष सप्रापदव्यजरामरमक्षय सौख्यम्।। १७ ।।
—*Nirvānabhakti* by Pūjyapāda

12 M K Acharya's article in AIOC, Poona, 1919, pp 111-14, P S Sastri in AIOC, Lucknow, 1951, p 125

13 Diwali number of *Hindi Jaina Gazette*, 1941, in which the original article in Sanskrit was published Its Hindi translation appeared in the *Anekānta*, IV, 10, pp 559 ff
14 "Śaiśunāka and Maurya Chronology," *JBORS*, I, pt I, pp 99-104
15 "The Date of Vardhamāna," *JRAS*, 1917, pp 122-30
16 Cf *Nagari Pracharini Patrika*, pt I, pp 377-54
17 *IA*, XLIII, June-July-Aug , 1914, pp 118 f , also see *The Cambridge History of India*, I, p 156
18 *History of India*, Madras, 1950, pt I, pp 39-40
19 *An Advanced History of India*, p 73
20 *B.C Law Volume*, pt I, pp 606-7, n 30
21 *JA*, XI, I, pp 6 ff
22 "On the Date of the Parinirvāna of the Buddha," *Prabuddha Karnataka*, Mysore University
23 *Bhagawān Mahāvīra aur Unkā Samaya*, Delhi, 1934
24 *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama (Dhavala)*, I, 1 1, Introduction, and his article, "Date of Mahāvīra Nirvāna," *Journal of Nagpur University*, 1940, pp 52-53
25 "Vīra Nirvāna Samvat aur Jaina Kālagananā," *Nagari Pracharini Patrika*, X, vs 1986, pp 585-745

Dr R K Mookerjee also sees no incongruity, far less absurdity, in accepting the traditional date of 528 BC (cf *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, II, pp 36-38)

26 *Epigraphia Indica* (hereinafter cited as *EI*), IV, no 44, pp 309-10
27 एववस्ससहस्से पुह कक्की हवेइ इक्केको।

—*Tiloyapannati*

मुक्तिगते महावीरे प्रतिवर्ष सहस्रकम्।
एकैको जायतेकल्की जिनधर्मविरोधक ।।

—*Harivamśa* (AD 783)

इदि पडिसहस्सवस्स वीरेकक्कीणदिक्कमेचरिमो।
जलमथणो भविस्सदिकक्की सम्मग्गमत्थणओ।।

—*Trilokasāra* (AD 973)

Also see the *Titthogālipainna, Dīpamālākalpa, Kālasaptati*, etc

28 सव्वकाल समासो तेयासीदिअहिय छस्सदमेत्तो (६८३), पुणे एत्थ सत्तमासाहिय सत्तहत्तरिवासेसु (७७-७) अवणीदेसु पचमासाहियपंचुत्तर छस्सदवासाणि (६०५-५) हवंति। एसो वीर जिणिंदणिव्वाणगद दिवसादो जाव सगकालस्सआदी होदि, तावदियकालो, कुदो? एदम्मिकाले सगणरिंद कालस्स पक्खित्तेवड्ढमाणजिण णिव्वुदकालागमणादो। वुत्तं—
पंच य मासा पंच य वासाछच्चेव होंति वाससया।
सगकालेण य सहिया थावेयव्वो तदो रासी।।

—MS in the CJOL, Arrah, p 537

29 पंचय मासा पंच य वासाछच्चेव होंतिवाससया।
परिणिव्वु अस्सऽरिहतो तो उपपन्नो सगोराया।।

—Cf *Paṭṭāvalisamuccaya*, p 537

The text of the *Titthogālıpaınna* ıs also reproduced ın Kalyanavıjaya's "Vīra Nırvāna Samvat," op cit

30 णिव्वाणे वीरजिणे छव्वाससदेसुपचवरिसेसु।
पणमासेसु गदेसुं सजादोसगणिओ अहवा।।

—*Tiloyapannatı*, IV 1499

31 वर्षाणाषट्शतींत्यक्त्वापचाग्र मास पचकम्।
मुक्तिगते महावीरे शकराजस्ततोऽभवत्।

—*Harıvamśa*, ch 60, v 549

32 पणछस्सय वस्सपणमासजुद गमियवीरणिव्वुइदो।
सगराजो तोकक्की चदुणवतिय महियसगमास।।

—*Trılokasāra*, v 850

33 श्री वीर निर्वृतेर्वर्ष षडभि पचोत्तरै. शतै ।
शाक सवत्सरस्यैषाप्रवृत्तिर्भरतेऽभवत्।।

—*Vıcāraśrenī* The verse has, ın fact, been quoted by Merutunga from some older work

34 सत्तरि चदुसदजुत्तोतिणकाला विक्कमो हवइजम्मो।

—*Vıkrama-prabandha* ın the Prākṛta *Paṭṭāvalı* of Nandı Samgha (cf *JSB*, I 4, p 75)

तद्राज्यतु श्रीवीरात् सप्ततिवर्षशत चतुष्टये सजातम्।

—*Tapāgacchapattāvalı*, quoted ın the Introduction to *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, I 1 ı, p 33 (Amraotı ed)

इत· श्री विक्रमादित्य शास्त्यवन्तीं नराधिप ।
अनृणा पृथिवींकुर्वन प्रवर्तयतिवत्सरम्।।

—*Prabhāvakacarıtra*

विक्कमरज्जारभापुरओ सिरिवीर णिब्बुइ भणिया।
सुन्न-मुणि-वेय जुत्तो विक्कमकालाउ जिणकालो।।

—*Vıcāraśrenī*

महमुक्खगमणाओ पालयनंदचंदगुत्ताइराईसु वोलीणेसु।
चउसय सत्तरेहिंवासेहिं विक्कमाइच्चो राया होही।

—Pāvāpurīkalpa ın the *Vıvıdha-tīrthakalpa*

35 वरिसाण समचउक्के सत्तरिजुत्तो जिणेंद वीरस्स।
गिव्वाण उववण्णा विक्कमकालस्स उप्पत्ती।।
विक्कमणिवकालाओछाहत्तरदसस एसु वरिसाण।
माहम्मि सुद्ध पक्खे दसमी दिवसम्मि सतम्मि।।

—Colophon of *Jambucarıta* by poet Vīra, dated VE 1076 (AD 1019), MS dated AD 1459, preserved ın the Āmer Bhaṇḍāra Sımılarly, the author of *Māghanandı Śrāvakācāra*, a Kannada work on Jaına ethıcs, of AD 1253 gıves the date of hıs work as Śaka 1175, mentıonıng, that thıs Śaka era had started 605 years and five months after the *nırvāna*, He also mentıons that the current year of the Mahāvīra era then was 1780, that 1097 years had elapsed sınce the last of the Ācārāngadhārīs (ı e , sınce ME 683), and that

19220 years out of the 21000 years' period of Mahāvīra's Tīrtha (or of the fifth cycle) still remained All this means that the Jainas in the twelfth century also believed the *nirvāna* to have taken place in 527 BC (cf K B Pathak, *IA*, XII, pp 21-22)

36 In fact, as Edward Thomas observed (*IA*, VIII, pp 30-31), "The Jainas have a fixed and definite date for the *nirvāna* of Mahāvīra, which is established by the concurrent testimony of their two sects, whose method of reckoning varies in itself, thereby securing, as it were, a double entry The Śvetāmbaras date in the era of Vikrama, 57 BC, the Digambaras reckon by the Śaka Samvat, AD 78, and both arrive at the same figures of 526-7 BC for the death of Mahāvīra "

37 छव्वास सयाइ नवुत्ताइ सिद्धिगयस्स वीरस्स।
तो बोडिआण दिट्ठी रहवीरपुरे समुप्पन्ना।।
—*Āvaśyaka Mūlabhāṣya*, v 145 (AD 609)
छत्तीसे वारिससये विक्कमरायस्स मरणपत्तस्स।
सोरठे बलहीए उप्पण्णो सेवडो सघो।।
—*Darśanasāra* (AD 933)

38 It is curious to note that Al-beruni gives this interval as 241 years See K B Pathak's article in AIOC, Poona, 1919, p 133

39 वीराय भगवते चतुरसीतिवसे (८४) काये जालामालिनिये रँनिविठ माझिमिके।
The Inscription was discovered by Pt G H Ojha in 1912 in village Barli near Ajmer (cf Sircar, *Select Inscriptions)*

40 Minor Rock Edict I, 1 5 See J F Fleet, *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society* (hereinafter cited as *JRAS)*, 1910, pp 1301-8, 1911, pp 1091-1112

41 Edward Thomas, "Jainism, or the Early Faith of Asoka," *JRAS*, IX, pp 155 ff

42 Hāthīgumphā Insc , 1 6 पचमे च दानीवसे नदराजातिवससत ओ (घा) टित, etc See *JBORS*, III, pt 4, p 455

43 Cf H K Deb, "Date of Coronation of Mahāpadma Nanda," *Summaries*, AIOC, Poona, 1919, pp 120-23

44 All the sources are unanimous on Nanda rule commencing in ME 60 and assign it 155 years, except one which assigns it 150 years (See Appendix A)

45 अनन्तर वर्धमान स्वामि निर्वाणवासरात्।
गतायाषष्टिवत्सर्यामेषनन्दोऽभन्नृप ।। —*Pariśistaparva*, VI 243
Also see his *Trisastisalākāpuruṣacarita* (X 12, vv 45-46) where he gives the date of Kumārapāla's accession as ME 1669 (AD 1142)

46 Cf *Vicāraśrenī* in the *Prabandhacintāmani* of Merutunga

47 In fact, an important Greek authority of *c* 100 BC, whom W W Tarn (in *Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp 44-50) describes as the "Trogus Source," actually gives the date of Candragupta's accession as 312 BC Tarn believes that this Greek historian must have learnt this fact from the Jainas themselves

48 The compilers of *An Advanced History of India*, p 73, also seem to think so Also see *Bhagavatīsūtra*

49 एक समय भगवो सक्केसु विहरति तेनखोपनसमयेन निगण्ठो नातपुत्तो पावाय अधुना कालकतो होति। —Sāmagāmasutta of *Majjhimanikāya*, also see the Upālisutta of the same Nikāya, and the Pāsādikasuttanta of the *Dīghanikāya*, Rahula Sankrityayana, *Buddhacaryā*, E J Rapson, *CHI*, I, p 156, *JRAS*, 1885, pp 665 ff

50 Fixed by Geiger, Fleet, Wickremasinghe and others See *D R Bhandarkar Volume*, pp 329-30

51 J K Mukhtar, *Bhagawān Mahāvīra aur Unkā Samaya*, Delhi, 1934, pp 13, 31

52 For the names of Indian days and months see Pūjyapāda's *Daśabhakti*, particularly the *Nirvānabhakti*, also *Dhavala*, *Jayadhavala*, etc The corresponding dates in the Roman calendar are based on Swami Kannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*

It may be noted here that the years in the Mahāvīra Nirvāna era denote the expired years and not the current ones as in the Christian era

CHAPTER 3

The Vikrama Era

THE VIKRAMA ERA is the most popular Indian era and it has been in use over the greater part of India, more particularly in the northern, western and central regions, for the past two thousand years or so No other secular era appears to have enjoyed such a wide and long currency in this country

A series of inscriptions, beginning from as far back as the third century AD, is available in this era, but it is only since the tenth century onwards that we find it being used under the name of Vikrama era Prior to that it was generally used under other names, such as Kṛta, Mālava, Samvatsara, etc

Thus from the year 282 to 481 some ten inscriptions have been discovered which use the name Kṛta Samvat [1] The inscriptions of the year 461 and one of 481 use both Mālavagana and Kṛta together to denote this era [2] From this time onward down to the middle of the tenth century more than a dozen inscriptions have been found which mention the term Mālava or Mālavagana only [3] In this interval, too, we get two inscriptions, both of the year 770, which mention neither the term Krta nor Mālava, but designate the era simply by the word Samvatsara,[4] and another, that of the year 794, is the first epigraphic record to use the term Vikrama Samvatsara [5] That of 898 also uses the words Vikramākhya Kāla [6] With these exceptions all the other inscriptions dated in the years between 481 and 936 use the term Mālava alone, after which it was superseded by the term Vikrama Samvat From 1028 down to the present day, with the exception of one of the year 1226, all the records use the term Vikrama only [7] And from this time onwards it came to be the most used era in India But in spite of these different names there is no doubt that it is the same era, the Krta and the Mālava eras having been proved to be identical with the Vikrama era [8]

In literature its use began a little later and there it is never known to have been designated by any other name except that of Vikrama era The *Pattāvalis* of the Digambara Nandisamgha and Śvetāmbara Tapāgaccha, both belonging to about the seventh century AD, and Haribhadra's

Āvaśyakavṛtti (c AD 775) seem to have been the first works to discuss the Vikrama era in connection with their own traditions relating to the date of Mahāvīra and Vīrasena (AD 780) seems to have been the first author to give his date in this era [9] Another work, the *Akalaṅkacarita*, of about the same time, gives the date of a past event in the Vikrama era [10] A number of Jaina writers of the tenth and eleventh centuries give their dates in this era [11] Thence onwards it almost became a universal practice

We have seen that the Jaina tradition places the commencement of this era in ME 470 and that later Jaina writers in using this era had also no doubt on this point They also were certain as to its having started 135 years before the commencement of the popular Śaka era The Jaina sources which discuss the date of Mahāvīra in terms of the Śaka era invariably give the date of the latter's commencement as ME 605 Merutunga specifically states the difference between the Vikrama and the Śaka eras as 135 years,[12] and he is supported by Al-beruni[13] as also by an inscription of the eleventh century AD and another, still earlier, of the ninth century AD which use both the Vikrama and Śaka eras simultaneously [14]

The fact that Mahāvīra died in 527 BC, a number of synchronisms with other eras and known facts of history, the popular belief which dates back to more than a thousand years, the different traditions and the absence of any definite evidence to the contrary, all together unequivocally fix the starting point of this era in 57 BC

As to the different designations under which this era has been known a lot of discussion has taken place and all sorts of theories have been advanced But there is little doubt that the designations Mālava and Vikrama derive their names from the Mālava people and their illustrious leader respectively The term Kṛta, however, has remained a veritable puzzle The epithet Sananda to be added defore the term Vikrama era has only been suggested to distinguish it from some Ānanda Vikrama era which, as we have already seen, has no foundation, and we need not consider it But the other three names require an explanation which would be clear if we knew to what event or to which person this era owes its origin

Popular belief and later tradition attribute this era to King Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī, who figures in folklore and mediaeval literature as a great hero, a very noble and generous hearted king and a great patron of art and learning, whose court was adorned by nine intellectual gems

A mass of legend has developed around his name, and in these tales he has often been confused with one or the other of his later namesakes, particularly with Candragupta II Vikramāditya (AD 379-413) who offers a parallel in many respects

We cannot say much about the origin of the term Vikramāditya except that it means "Sun of Valour" and came to be regarded as a title of great distinction among ancient Indian kings [15] The word "Vikramana" is known to occur in the Vedic literature and in Pānini's *Astādhyāyī* while the Purānas have used the word "Trivikrama" for Visnu The Nasik epitaph of Gautamīputra Śātakarni is the first known epigraphic record which mentions the word Vikrama,[16] and Hāla's *Satasai* is perhaps the first literary work which speaks of Vikramāditya's generosity [17] From the fourth century onwards it also begins to appear as a title on royal seals and coins The founder of this era, therefore, seems to have been the first Indian prince to have this name or title Most probably it was his first name which was used by later kings and rulers simply as a title

Scholars have, however, failed to identify or establish the historicity of the original Vikrama Brahmanical and Buddhist accounts seem to have referred to no such person in the first century BC, no coins, inscriptions or any other historical evidence seem to prove his existence, most of the scholars included in the list of the celebrated Nine Gems are known to have lived in much later times, a number of later Vikramādityas are known to have been associated with Malwa and Ujjayinī, and some of them are even reputed to have freed the country from the onslaughts of the alien Śakas or Hūnas

Hence a number of theories have been put forward as regards the origin of this era John Marshall attributed it to the Parthian king Azes I,[18] John Fleet to Kaniska,[19] D R Bhandarkar to Puśyamitra Śunga,[20] K P Jayaswal to Gautamīputra or his successor Pulumāyi Śātakarni,[21] V A Smith, James Fergusson and R.G Bhandarkar to Candragupta II,[22] and Franz Kielhorn and A F R Hoernle to Yaśodharman of Malwa [23] Some scholars have suggested that Krta was the actual name of the founder of this era, others that it was called so because it inaugurated the Happy Age or "Krtayuga," or because it meant "made, effected or redundant," or because it was connected with the Ki-li-to people mentioned by Hiuen Tsang, or with the Katha tribe, and so on [24] It has also been suggested that the era seems to denote some important victory of the Mālava people and also that the Mālavas were not its founders but that they seem to have adopted it [25]

Most of these theories have been found defective and some of them quite untenable No single view has yet been found to be quite satisfactory and acceptable even by the majority It will not be out of place, therefore, to see how far the Jaina sources and traditions help us in this direction

The *Kālakācārya Kathānaka* which is related in the *Kalpasūtra* (c fifth century AD) and which has been repeated or alluded to in a number of later works, seems to hold the key to this problem.[26] The story tells us that towards the middle of the first century BC Gardabhilla ruled over Ujjayinī In his times there lived a Jaina saint by name Kālaka the second, who is said to have been the guru of the kings of Pratiṣṭhānapura He had a beautiful sister by name Sarasvatī who was a nun The king of Ujjayinī, who was a licentious brute, lost his head at the maidenly beauty of the nun and detained her in his palace [27] Kālaka tried his best to dissuade the king from his evil designs, but failed He tried to arouse public opinion against the sacrilege attempted by the tyrant, but it was of no avail He approached nobles and higher officials as also some neighbouring princes to intercede on his behalf, but none dared to oppose the tyrant Thus frustrated, Kālaka went to the country of Sagakula which lay on the banks of the Indus and of which the rulers were called the Sāhis [28] Kālaka was a great astrologer and he soon won the favour of the Śāhi and stayed at his court as an honoured guest One day a messenger brought to the Sāhi a cup, a dagger and a letter, on seeing which the latter paled with fear Kālaka was surprised and asked the reason The Śāhi told him that his overlord, the Śāhānuśāhi, who was an old man, was somehow displeased with him and had commanded him to cut his own head with the dagger sent to him The head was to be placed in the bowl and forwarded to the Śāhānuśāhi The refusal to obey orders was to be punished by the total destruction of the Śāhi's family He was also told that similar messages had been received by a number of other Śāhis as well Kālaka saw his opportunity and persuaded the Śāhi to invite all such other Śāhis and accompany him to Malwa where after the annihilation of the tyrant Gardabhilla they would be rewarded with a rich kingdom At this the Śāhis, who were 96 in number, fell for this opportune escape from the terrible fate that awaited them there, and marched with their forces towards Malwa They crossed the Indus and came to Surāṣṭra and encamped near Ḍhakkagiri, as the rainy season had arrived [29] Then they entered Lāṭadeśa, took with them the kings of that country and invaded Malwa On reaching the outskirts of Ujjayinī, Kālaka sent an ultimatum to Gardabhilla to release Sarasvatī at once, failing which he would be

totally destroyed [30] Gardabhilla did not relent Kālaka, therefore, bade the Sāhis to besiege the city and helped them in overcoming the magic of Gardabhilla Eventually the latter was defeated and expelled from the country

Against the intentions and expectations of even Kālaka himself, the Śakas settled in Ujjayinī and continued occupation for several years more The Mālava people rose against the intruders and led by their valiant leader, Vikramāditya, the heroic son of Gardabhilla himself, they ousted the Śakas from the homeland [31] This national victory was celebrated with great eclat and to commemorate this event an era was started [32] A number of Jaina sources assign this event to 57 BC Some of them further inform us that the Śakas once again rose to power, exterminated the line of Vikramāditya and a second time occupied Ujjayinī In order to celebrate this reconquest and to supersede the era of the Mālavas they started a new era of their own, i e , the Śaka era of AD 78 [33] Some Jaina works mention the name of Vikramāditya's father as Gandharvasena Mahendrāditya and his dynasty as Gardabhilla, Kharabhilla, Gardabha, Rāsabha, etc Some scholars are of opinion that it might have been a branch of the Khāravela dynasty of Kalinga [34] Jaina works fix the date of Gardabhilla in ME 453-66 (i e , 74-61 BC) and state that after him the Śakas ruled for four years and then came Vikrama in ME 470 (or 57BC),[35] whereas the *Tiloyapannati* places this first Śaka occupation of Ujjayinī in ME 461 (or 66 BC) [36] The Kālakācārya of Vikrama tradition was the second of the three Jaina gurus of that name and is assigned to ME 453 (or 74 BC) The Śaka chief of the Śāhi who occupied Ujjayinī at his instance was probably the first Kṣaharāta, a predecessor of Nahapāna, and the Śāhānuśāhi referred to was the Śaka overlord of Śakasthāna or Śakakula, probably a predecessor of Maues The Śakas had already entered India and settled in Sindh, and this Indian settlement of theirs was known as Śakasthāna of Śakakula The Śaka Śāhis were merely some of the many neighbouring princes, who alone agreed to help the monk in chastising a bad king and in exterminating his unjust and tyrannical rule Prof K A Nilakanta Sastri observes that "there is nothing improbale in this story which may well represent an episode in the historic struggle between the Āndhras and the Śakas "[37] Sten Konow lays great stress on the Kālaka tradition and accepts the defeat of a Śaka ruler of Ujjayinī at the hands of a Vikrama in 57BC and Jayaswal has no doubt that it records a genuine historical tradition [38] The fact that the Śakas had invaded India and had conquered a part of it at least once more before it was again

conquered by them towards the middle of the first century AD is also confirmed by contemporary Chinese chronicles which use the word "again" or "the second time" in connection with this later Śaka inroad, and which in Prof Halgrain's opinion affords no other interpretation than that there must have been an earlier Śaka conquest It is evident that in the beginning of the second century AD this earlier conquest of India was well known even in far off China [39]

From the Greek records we know that in Alexander's times the Mālavas were one of the several tribes living in the Indus valley Pressed hard by foreign inroads the Mālava tribe seems to have migrated to Rajputana and thence to the Ujjayinī region where it finally settled down and gave the country the name of Malwa Towards the middle of the first century BC, Gardabhilla, who probably belonged to Khāravela's lineage, seems to have become the leader and political head of these Mālavas of Ujjayinī But his evil ways not only brought about his own ruin but also threw the country under alien domination from which their hero Vikrama delivered them The Mālavas were a freedom-loving republican tribe and they commemorated this national achievement in their coins and seals which bear the legends *Mālavānam-jayah* or *Mālavaganasya-jayah* in ancient Brāhmī script and have been discovered in Malwa and Rajasthan [40] With the same purpose they also started an era, but it is curious why they did not designate it as the Mālava or Mālavagana era and instead continued to call it the Krta era for several centuries

The explanation is simple The Mahāvīra era which might have been current in those regions and in those times was a Krta era since it commences from the first moon day of the Indian month of Kārttika [41] Incidentally the earlier Śaka era (of 66 BC) was also a Krta era since it is said to have been started exactly 461 years after Mahāvīra's *nirvāna,* or it might be that these early Śakas adopted the current Kṛta era (i e , the Mahāvīra era) and only began their reckoning from the year of their victory The same things seems to have been done by the Mālava people It is also confirmed by the fact that the commencement of the Vikrama era is also placed exactly 470 years after the *nirvāna,* whereas the Śaka era (i e , of AD 78) which started from the first moon day of the month of Caitra, is placed 605 years and 5 months after the *nirvāna* Moreover, some of the early inscriptions in this Vikrama or Mālava era also leave no doubt as to its having been adopted by the Mālavas from an older tradition generally termed as the Kṛta reckoning [42] Hence the era continued under the name of Kṛta up to the beginning of the fifth century

AD From that time onwards, however, an attempt to revive the memory of the Mālava people about their past glory and national achievements seems to have been made Hence the name of the era was changed from Kṛta to Mālava At about the same time, in order to reconcile this era with other current eras like the Śaka, the Kalacuri or the Cedī, the Gupta or the Valabhī, which seem to have commenced their reckonings from the month of Caitra, this era also seems to have been made to begin its reckoning from that month, at least in the north Hence there was no sense in calling it by the name of Kṛta any longer By the eighth century the Mālavagana as a separate entity seems to have become non-existent It was now the age of kings and not of people Traditions must have, therefore, been unearthed to discover the name of that hero who was the founder of this era, and the people of these times could not but think that he must have been a great king The gradual change from Mālavagana to Mālavavamśa-kīrtti, then to Mālaveśa and finally to Vikrama or king Vikramāditya in the inscriptions from the eighth to the tenth centuries themselves speak of this change in outlook [43] Tradition had supplied the name of the founder as Vikrama, and it was not a new name So many important monarchs of the north and the south had made the name quite popular by adopting it as their title of distinction Henceforward it was the only name, excepting in one or two cases, under which this era came to be used

But about this time (tenth century), too, some misunderstanding was created mostly by the Jaina writers themselves, about the event in Vikrama's life which was made the occasion for the commencement of this era Some hinted that it was his birth,[44] others stated that it was his coronation[45] and still others implied that it was his death [46] These last seem to have been misled by the impression that like the Mahāvīra *nirvāna* era and other religious eras, all ancient eras must have started from the death of some great person What actually was the case we have already seen The victory over and consequent expulsion of the alien Śakas from Malwa by the Mālava people under the leadership of Vikramāditya was this great event which might well have coincided with the assumption by Vikrama of supreme political authority over the republic in the same year, i e , ME 470 or 57 BC

REFERENCES

1 *EI*, XIX, nos 1-5 Besides these, 3 from Badwā (Kota State) and 2 from Barnālā (Jaipur State) have been discovered

2 Ibıd , nos 3 and 5 Also see *EI,* XII, pp 315-21
3 *EI*, XIX, *IA*, XIII, p 164, *ASI*, X, p 32
4 *EI*, XIX, Appendıx
5 Ibıd , also *IA*, XII, pp 151 ff
6 *IA*, XIX, p 35
7 For thıs exceptıon see *JBRAS,* LV, p 48 The Inscrıptıon of 1028 ıs publıshed ın *JBBRAS,* XXII, p 166
8 Cf J F Fleet, *CII*, III, *Inscrıptıons of the Early Gupta Kıngs and Theır Sucessors*, Introductıon, p 68, A S Altekar, "Vıkrama Samvatasra," *Sahyādrı* (Marathı), Oct 1943, p 695, D R Bhandarkar, "The Vikrama Era," *Sır R G Bhandarkar Volume,* 1947, pp 193-94, *IA*, 1932, pp 101-3ff
9 Cf *Anekānta*, VII 7-8, pp 207-14
10 *EC*, II, Introductıon
11 For example Devasena (VE 990), Dhanapāla (VE 1029), Amıtagatı (VE 1050, 1070), Vīra (VE 1076)
12 Hıs *Vicārasreni* ın the *Prabandhacıntāmanı, SJG,* Bombay
13 *Alberunı's Indıa,* ed E C Sachau, ch II, p 49
14 एकादश शतवर्षांक तदधिकषोडशच (१११६) विक्रमेद्रेश।

नवसत एकासीति (९८१) सकगत शालिवाहन च नृपधीस।।

—*EI*, XIX, p 22—Inscrıptıons of Northern Indıa, no 134

And the Deogarh Jaına Pıllar Inscrıptıon of AD 862

सवत ९१९ शककाल सप्तशतानिच्चतुरशीत्यधिकानि, ७८४ ।

—*EI*, IV, no 44, pp 309-10

15 There were several Vıkramādıtyas among the Guptas, the Cālukyas, the Hoyasalas, etc
16 वरवारणविकम चारु विकम ।

—*EI*, VIII, no 2,1 4

17 *EI*, XII, p 320
18 *JRAS*, 1932, p 149
19 Cf *JBORS*, II, pt 4, p 490, also *JRAS*, 1913, pp 913ff
20 *IA*, 61, pp 101-3
21 *JBORS*, XVI, 1930, pts 3-4, p 251, also *JSS*, I, 4, p 208
22 V A Smıth, *Early Hıstory of Indıa*
23 F Kıelhorn, *IA*, XIX, p 35, XX, pp 403-4, A F R Hoernle, *JRAS*, 1909, pp 89 ff
24 K B Vyas, "The Krta Era," *PIHC*, Bombay, 1947, pp 151-59
25 K B Vyas, op cıt , also *IA*, XLII, 1913, p 163
26 See W Norman Brown's translatıon, *The Story of Kālaka*, Washıngton, 1933, also the *Kālakācārya Kathānaka-saıngraha,* SJG,Bombay, Jacobı, *Das Kālakācārya Kathānakam, ZDMG*, XXXIV, pp 247ff
27 कालयसूरि लहुयभगिणी सरस्सई नाम साहुणी, वियारभूमीए निग्गया समाणीदिट्ठा, उज्जेणीनयरि सामिणा गद्दभिल्लराइणा अज्झोववन्नेण य।

—*Kālak Kathā* , p 38

28 अहसूरि सगकुले वच्चइ, इगसाहिणो समीवंमि।

—The Prākṛta versions have the words "Sagakula" and "Sāhis" and the Sanskrit versions "Sākhis" instead [See also *IA*, XLIII, 1914, p 125] They were called Śakas because they came from Sagakula—सगकुलाओ जेण समागया तेण ते सगाजाया।

29 उत्तरिओ सिंधुनई कमेण सोरठ मडल पत्तो,
ते ढक्कगिरि समीवे ठियादिणेकहविमतवसा।

—Ibid

30 दूयमह पेसइ गुरु, अज्जवि नरनाह सरसईमुंच,
अइ ताणिय हि तुट्टइ फुट्टइज्जंदेव। अइभरिय।

—Ibid

31 कालातरेण केणाइ उप्पादिट्ठा सगाण त वसम्।
जावो मालवराया नामेण विक्कमाइच्चो।

—*Kālak Kathā* , p 43

32 नियवोसवच्छरोजेण।

—Ibid

33 एय पासंगियं समक्खाय सगकाल जाणणत्थ।
Kālakācārya episode in the *Prabhāvakacarita* of Prabhā Candra Sūri (AD 1276) Of the many Prākṛta and Sanskrit versions of the story of Kālaka, this is the most fuller and popular one Also see *The Age of Imperial Unity*, Bombay, 1951, p 155

34 Cf H C Seth's article in *Nagpur University Journal*, no 8, and *JA*, XI 1, pp 4-5

35 Cf *Abhidhāna Rājendrakosa*, p 1289, *Tīrthoddhāraprakarana*, *Tapāgacchapattāvali*, *Pariśiṣtaparva*, Merutunga's *Therāvali*, etc

36 vv 1496, 1501, 1503

37 *History of India*, pt 1, p 108

38 Sten Konow, *CII*, II, pt I, *Kharoṣthī Inscriptions*, *JBORS*, XVI, p 233, for views of other scholars, see *CHI*, I, pp 167-68, H C Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, p 33, *IA*, XLIII, p 125

39 See Satyaśrava, *Śakas in India*, Lahore, 1942, *CHI*, I, p 583, Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, pp 458-73, *IA*, XXXV, pp 33-47

40 *PIHC*, 1947, p 158 Some of such coins have been assigned to first century BC

41 Kṛta can be a derivative of Kārttika or Kṛttikā Just as an era commencing in Caitra may be called a Caitrī era, one commencing in Śrāvana a Śrāvanī era, in Vaiśākha a Vaiśākhī era, so an era commencing in Kārttika may appropriately be designated as a Kṛta era It may also be noted in this connection that the Vikrama era as prevalent in Surāṣtra and the south still commences on Kārttika Śukla Pratipadā, just like the Mahāvīra era This Kārtikādi Vikrama era is commonly called the Southern Vikrama era to distinguish it from the Caitrādi VE, which is called the Northern Vikrama era (see Fleet, *IA*, XVIII, p 93, XIX, p 21, Kielhorn, op cit , p 251)

42 For example, the Mandasor Inscription of Naravarman of the year 461 uses the words श्री मालवगणाम्नाते प्रशस्ते कृतसंज्ञिते and as D R Bhandarkar surmises, the Mālavas had nothing to do with the actual foundation of the era, as the phrase मालवगणाम्नात (i e ,handed down traditionally, not originated, amongst the Mālavas) indicates It shows merely that the Mālavas were in possession of a traditional mode of reckoning years, known as Kṛta, cf *IA*, XLII, 1913, p 163, also *EI*, XII, p 320

43 Incriptions of years 493 and 589 use मालवगण, those of 524 and 529 use मालववशकीर्त्ते, that of 795 uses मालवेशाना, of 794 the word विक्रमसवत, of 898 विक्रमाख्यकाल, and of 1028 विक्रमनृपकाल, etc (*EI*, XIX, App , *IA*, XIX and XX)

44 Prākṛta *Paṭṭāvali* of Nandi Samgha, op cit , also see *Vasunandi Śrāvakācāra*, Banaras, 1952

45 *Merutuṅga's Therāvali*, *Tapāgaccha-paṭṭāvali*, *Vividha-tīrthakalpa*, *Prabhāvakacarita*, etc

46 Devasena (विक्कमरायस्स मरणपत्तस्स, etc), Vāmadeva (मृते विक्रमराजनि, etc), Amitagati (विक्रमपार्थिवस्य or समारूढे पूत), Ratnanandi (मृते विक्रमभूपाले) Some non-Jaina inscriptions also use such words as श्री विक्रमनृपकालातीत, विक्रमराज्य समयातीत, विक्रमतिक्रमात्, etc See Satyaśrava, *Śakas in India*, p 46

Chapter 4

The Śaka Era

The only popular and current Śaka era, often designated in the Pañcāngas as the Śaka Śālivāhana, is later than the Vikrama era by 135 years And as we have already seen, Indians have been believing it to be as such for more than one thousand years Since the Jaina sources unanimously fix its commencement 605 years and 5 months after the *nirvāna* of Mahāvīra which took place in 527 BC, the starting point of the Śaka era naturally falls in AD 78, which fact is also confirmed by its present reckoning The Śaka era enjoyed almost universal popularity over the whole of the Peninsula, and from there it even reached the Indian colonies and Indianised kingdoms of South-east Asia [1] If the Vikrama era came to be the most commonly used era in northern and western India, the Śaka era occupied the foremost place in south Indian reckonings Numerous synchronisms of the available dates in these two eras as also with other known facts and dates unequivocally support its date of origin as being AD 78

Although we begin to get its use from the very first year of its inception we do not find it mentioned under its proper name for some three centuries or so Sarvanandi's *Lokavibhāga,* a Prākṛta Jaina work on cosmology, completed in SE 380 in the reign of Pallava Simhavarman of Kāñcī, seems to have been the first example in literature to use this era and under its proper name too [2] From the sixth century of the era onwards, however, we begin to get numerous examples of its use by Jaina writers and also by some Brahmanical writers, particularly the astronomers As regards epigraphy, the Western Kṣatrapas of Surāṣṭra, the Western Cālukyas of Bādāmi, the Gangas of Talkād, the Pallavas of Kāñcī, the Kadambas of Banavāsi, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭa and all the later ruling dynasties, big and small, of the south, till and even after the middle ages, in their numerous inscriptions engraved in stone or on copperplate grants, are found making use of this era The result of such a wide currency was that the term Śaka came to be synonymous with the word era Expressions like Vikrama Śaka

(Vikramāṅka or Vikramārka Śaka), Hijri Śaka, Christian Śaka (or Khriṣṭi Śaka), etc , are not wanting This fact also gave rise to some confusion, especially between the Vikrama and the Śaka eras Examples of the one being used under the name of the other have been known [3] Some mediaeval writers seem to have even believed that Vikrama was the name of the Śaka king who founded the era [4]

In early inscriptions from Taxila, Mathura, etc , this era is designated simply as Samvatsara or Samvat, in those of Surāṣṭra as Varse, and in later centuries differently as Śaka, Śake, Śakanṛpa-samvatsara, Śaka-nṛpati-samvatsara, Śaka-nṛpati-rājyābhiṣeka-samvatsara, Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-samvatsara, Śakendra-kāla, Śaka-kālasamvatsara, Śakasamaye, Śakābda, Śakābde, Śakasamvat, Śaka-Śālivāhana, Śālivāhana-nirmīta-śaka-varsa, and so on [5] At present it is generally used as Śaka Śālivāhana

Several theories have been put forward as regards the origin of this era Majority of modern scholars attribute it to Kaniṣka The inscriptions of this king and of his several successors range from year 1 to 98, and they designate the year simply Samvat, Samvatsara or Rājya-saṁvatsara [6] Kaniska is generally believed to have ascended the throne in AD 78 [7] But there are some who are inclined to assign to him a later date, such as AD 129,[8] and a few who take him to earlier times and try to identify him with the founder of the Vikrama era [9]

Edward Rapson is the chief exponent of the theory that Kaniska was the founder of this era He says, "The dates which appear on the coins and inscriptions of its (Śaka) princes are all in the era which starts from the beginning of Kaniska's reign in AD 78 They range from the year 41 to 310 (i e , AD 119-388) and form the most continuous and complete chronological series found on monuments of ancient India It was in consequence of its long use by Śaka princes of western India that the era became generally known in India as the Śaka era "[10]

The theory though plausible has several defects First of all, it is based on a general assumption that all the Śaka kings used this era in their insriptions wherever found It ignores the fact that the Śakas had come to and settled in different parts of India more than a century before Kaniṣka's time Hence the records of these early Śaka chiefs, of the Śaka Satraps of Taxila, Mathura, Varanasi, Surāṣṭra, etc , could not have been dated in the era of Kaniṣka Secondly, the Kuṣāṇas were not exactly Śakas, they were rather Tukharians Only if the term Śaka is used very loosely they may be designated as such Still the fact remains that they belonged to a much later branch of the Śaka people who had been coming to India

for the past 150 years or so Thirdly, though the Kuṣāṇa empire of Kaniṣka stretched from Afghanistan to Mathura, probably as far as Varanasi, the greater part even of northern India was beyond his sway The Kuṣāṇas certainly had no authority over western and southern India, and it was in these regions where the Śaka era has been most popular Lastly, Kaniṣka and his successors used the word "Samvatsara" or "Rājya-samvatsara" when the earlier Śakas and those of western India used the word "Varṣe" to denote the date year Several modern scholars also do not give credit to Rapson's theory M Winternitz observes, "The view still maintained by a few scholars that Kaniṣka is the founder of the Śaka era which began in AD 78, is less likely to be correct[11]" and Sten Konow argues that "Wima Kadphises was on the throne long after the beginning of the Śaka era which cannot accordingly have been started by Kaniska, his successor"[12]

Among earlier authorities, Al-beruni (AD 1030) gives a different theory He says, "Śaka kāla, the epoch of the era of Śaka, falls 135 years later than Vikrama The Śaka mentioned here tyrannised the country between the river Sindh and the ocean after he had made Āryāvarta his dwelling place He interdicted the Hindus from considering and representing themselves as anything but Śakas The Hindus had much to suffer from him, till at last they received help from east, when Vikramāditya marched against him, put him to flight and killed him in the region of Karur between Multan and the castle of Loni Now this date became famous as people rejoiced in the news of the death of the tyrant, and was used as the epoch of an era, especially by the astronomers They honour the conqueror by adding Śrī to his name so as to say Śrī Vikramāditya Since there is a long interval between the era which is called the era of Vikrama and the killing of the Śaka, we think that that Vikrama from whom the era has got its name is not identical with that one who killed the Śaka, but only a namesake of his"[13]

It is obvious that Al-beruni has confused several different traditions, namely those relating to the original Vikrama of 57 BC, those concerning Candragupta II Vikramāditya (AD 379-413) who is also reputed to have extirpated the Śakas and those relating to the annihilation of the savage Hūṇas at the hands of Skandagupta Kramāditya (AD 455-67) or Yaśodharman of Malwa (AD 532), probably at the battle of Karur In this account of the tyrant Śaka we also hear an echo of the Jaina tradition about the Kalki who is said to have risen about one thousand years after Mahāvīra's *nirvāna* Nevertheless, Al-beruni is quite right as regards

the names of and the interval between the Vikrama and the Śaka eras as also in confirming their respective dates as 57 BC and AD 78

But Al-beruni was not the only one to believe that the Śaka era started at the defeat and death of a Śaka king at the hands of Vikramāditya. Some Indian writers of early mediaeval times also seem to have had a similar belief, which probably constituted the basis of Al-beruni's statement [14] And their ultimate source seems to be Brahmagupta the astronomer (AD 628) who uses such expressions, as शकान्तेऽब्दा: or शकन्नृपान्ते in stating the fact that "at the end of the Śakas 3179 years of the Kali age had elapsed "[15] But the term may also mean "up to the time of the Śakas," at least in telling his own date he does not use the suffix अन्ते and simply says "when 550 years of the Śaka king had elapsed he completed his work "[16] But Bhāskara (*c* AD 900), Udayana (AD 984), etc., modified Brahmagupta's शकान्तेऽब्दा: into शकनृपस्यान्ते [17] Among the Jainas, Somadeva (AD 959) seems to have been the first writer to use a similar expression, i e , शकनृपकालातीत सम्वत्सर [18] But as D C Sircar points out, this term does not necessarily mean that the era started at the death of the Śaka, but that it may equally well denote the expired years of the Śaka as against the regnal years [19] In fact, no earlier record or tradition supports this theory Varāhamihira (AD 505) uses the word शकेन्द्रकाल and is followed by Bateśvara (AD 780) in this respect [20] An inscription of SE 435 calls the era as शकनृपति सवत्सर,[21] whereas another of SE 500 calls it as शकनृपतिराज्याभिषेक संवत्सर (the era of the Śaka king's coronation) [22] We have already seen that the Jaina tradition almost unanimously marks the commencement of this era from the time the Śakas (or the Śaka king) came into power It leaves no doubt as to the fact that the Śakas once more regained power, conquered Malwa a second time and to supersede the era of Vikrama started their own era, and one of the sources specifically mentions that the object of the above remark is to give information about the origin of the popular Śaka era.

Hence the theory that this Śaka era started at the death of a Śaka king has no force It cannot also be attributed to some Vikramāditya because no Indian king nor any Śaka chief or ruler bearing this name or title is known to have lived in the last quarter of the first century AD

The term Śālivāhana is found associated with the Śaka era only after the eleventh century AD An inscription of AD 1059 seems to be the first to mention the name of Śālivāhana together with this era [23] No earlier tradition or literary or epigraphic evidence supports this view Some

scholars have tried to suggest that this Śālivāhana seems to be a Sātavāhana ruler and probably identical with Hāla, the author of the Prākṛta *Gāthā Saptaśatī* [24] But they have nothing but mere conjecture to base this theory upon No Sātavāhana ruler is known to have had the name of Śālivāhana and the historicity or date of the author of the *Satasai* is uncertain and obscure The Sātavāhanas of Paiṭhan were, no doubt, serious rivals for power of the Śaka Kṣaharātas (Nahapāna, Uṣavadāta, etc) and of the Western Kṣatrapas of Caṣṭana's line Gautamīputra Śātakarni is believed to have waged wars with Nahapāna and fought them fiercely, and Vāśiṣṭhiputra Pulumāyi with Caṣtana and Rudradāman It is quite likely that the chief bone of contention was Ujjayinī Each of these two powers tried to possess and keep in hand this great capital, and sometimes victory fell to the one, sometimes to the other, AD 78 was certainly a fateful year in the fortunes of this city, and might well have marked a partial victory of the Sātavāhanas The rulers of this line seem to have been adepts in appropriating to themselves the honour belonging to their adversaries, Gautamīputra Śātakarni is known to have adopted the coins of Nahapāna after defeating him [25] An inscription of SE 1389 curiously describes this era as शालिवाहन निर्णीत शकवर्ष क्रमागते[26] which obviously indicates that Śālivāhana did some manipulation with the Śaka era There might be some truth in it, and some tradition to this effect might have all along been in existence But the fact remains that not much earlier evidence in support has yet been available and the Sātavāhanas are known to have used no era in their inscriptions and coins They have only the regnal years of individual kings of that dynasty inscribed on them

From the foregoing discussion the following facts emerge that the popular Śaka era commenced in AD 78, that it is associated in its origin with Ujjayinī, that it is a secular, not a religious, era and like most secular eras must have commenced with the coronation, victory or beginning of the rule of some important king, probably in Ujjayinī, that this king was an important Śaka chief or ruler, that his name was not Vikramāditya, and that Kaniska, the Kuṣāna monarch of north-west India, or any contemporary Sātavāhana king or any other Indian ruler had, if at all, little to do with the foundation of this era [27] But the question as to who then was its founder still remains unsolved Here again the Jaina sources seem to prove more helpful

The *Tiloyapnnati* (originally written in AD 176) specifically mentions that the rule of the Gandharvas or Gardabhillas lasted for 100 years, which was succeeded by 40-year rule of Nahapāna and then came the Bhacchaṭ-

thānas who ruled for 242 years They were succeeded by the Guptas whose rule lasted for 231 years [28] As we have seen, according to the Jaina traditions, Gardabhilla's rule began in 74 BC and it is assigned 13 years (i e , 74-61 BC) of which the last four years were spent fighting hard with the Śakas and for the next four years the Śakas were in sole occupation of Ujjayinī, at the end of which, in 57 BC, they were ousted Thus the dynasty of Gardabhilla including Vikramāditya and his successors would seem to last from 74 BC to AD 26 or up to AD 30 or 34 if the period of the intervening Śaka rule or even that of the war is excluded The upper and lower limits of Nahapāna's reign would therefore come to AD 26 and AD 75 respectively, and it is the time to which some of the modern scholars are inclined to assign this famous Kṣaharāta ruler of Surāṣtra [29] Curiously enough the above-mentioned old text designates the next family as भच्छट्ठणाण, the reading of the printed edition is, however, भत्थट्ठणाण [30] The late Dr Hiralal Sud commenting on these verses interpreted the term as "probably भ्रत्यान्ध्र or आन्ध्रभृत्य "[31] But as Satyaśrava rightly observes, by no rule of Prākṛta philology the term can be interpreted as भ्रत्यान्ध्राः or आन्ध्रभृत्याः and this Sanskrit rendering of the Prākṛta reading is altogether untenable [32] In fact, the simple and correct rendering of these Prākrta expressions would be भद्रचष्टना· or भृत्यचष्टनाः The Kharoṣthī legend on Casṭana's coinage is available in the form of चठनस Hence भद्रचष्टनः in Prākrta would be भच्छट्ठण and its plural भच्छट्ठणाण, similarly भृत्यचष्टन, would be भत्थट्ठणाणं In the inscriptions of the Western Kṣatrapas of Caṣṭana's line we often get the epithet भद्रमुख (of noble bearing) used before the names of these kings [33] Hence the use of the expression भद्रचष्टनाः for this important dynasty of Śaka Ksatrapas of western India is quite appropriate [34] This family, unlike the Kuṣānas, was a purely Śaka family Verse 1508 of *Tiloyapannati* when read together with vv 1503-4 thereof, leaves no doubt as to the fact that by the term भच्छट्ठणाण are meant the Śakas and no other family or people Moreover, in this work which has more or less a contemporary value for the history of the early centuries of the Christian era, we get the earliest record in literature which preserves the name of Caṣtana Caṣṭana and his early successors are known to have been serious rivals for power of the later Sātavāhanas, and though their dynasty is known to have lasted till the reign of Candraguta II Vikramāditya, it began to be rapidly eclipsed by the rise of the Guptas soon after AD 320 Our source assigns them 242 years

which, beginning from AD 78, gives the year AD 320, which exactly coincides with the commencement of the Guptas whom this source places soon after the Bhadra-Caṣṭanas It also assigns to the Guptas 231 years, and the dynasty including both the earlier and later branches, is not known to have lasted much beyond AD 550 Devagupta II who is assigned to this time, as also Harigupta, a predecessor or some elderly kinsman of Devagupta, are both said to have turned Jaina ascetics, and the latter is also said to have been a contemporary of the Hūna king Toramāna, as the *Kuvalayamālā* (AD 778) expressly asserts

Therefore, there remains no doubt that the popular Śaka era of AD 78 commenced with the rise of the Bhadra-Caṣṭanas or the Western Ksatrapa line of Castana and that he was the second Śaka king of the Jaina tradition who rose to power 605 years and 5 months after Mahāvīra's *nirvāna* It appears that Caṣṭana's predecessor Gasomatika, and even Casṭana himself were originally in the service of Nahapāna, and after the latter's death Caṣṭana, becoming independent of the Ksaharātas, rose to power[35] The year AD 78 seems to have marked a turning point in his fortunes, particularly by his conquest of Ujjayinī about the month of March (middle of Indian month of Caitra) in that year His greatest rival, the Śālivāhana king, who was probably Vāśisṭhiputra Puḷumāyi, could not tolerate it and waged war During the same year or sometimes later he might have won a partial victory over the Kṣatrapa and consequently tried to appropriate his era too, though with no great success It is also quite likely that just about the year AD 78 Kaniṣka might have laid the foundations of his Kuṣāna empire in northern India, with Peshawar (Puruṣapura) as his capital The year was also very momentous in the history of the Jaina Samgha as it saw the great division into Digambara and Śvetāmbara sects, and therefore was not likely to be forgotten by the Jaina writers

REFERENCES

1 See B R Chatterjee, *Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia*, Calcutta, 1928
2 Yativṛṣabha (*c* AD 176) is the first Jaina writer to discuss this era in his *Tiloyapannati*
3 See *Śakas in India*, pp 36-37
4 Cf Mādhavacandra's commentary on *Trilokasāra* He interprets the term as Vikramānkaśaka and his Hindi commentator Toḍarmall as "the Śaka king of the name of Vikrama "
5 Fleet, *IA*, XII, pp 207-15
6 See *EI*, X, Appendix, Northern Inscriptions

7 *CHI*, I, p 583
8 Sten Konow, *CII*, II, pt I, p 68 He attributes the era of AD 78 to Wima Kadphises, the predecessor of Kaniṣka
9 For example see Fleet, *JRAS*, 1913, pp 994-98
10 *CHI*, I, p 583
11 *History of Indian Literature*, II, p 611
12 *CII*, II, pt I, p 68
13 *Alberuni's India*, ed E C Sachau, II, p 49
14 शकानाम्म्लेच्छराजानस्ते यस्मिनकाले विक्रमादित्येन व्यापादित स
शकसम्बधीकाल·शाकइत्युच्यते।— वासनाभाष्यटीका— खडखाण्ड्यक
—Calcutta edn , 1925, p 2, of Āmarāja (AD 1180), also see commentary of Pṛthudaka Svāmī, *c* AD 864, on the same (Calcutta, 1941, p 3) and Bhaṭṭa Utpala's comm on v VIII 20 of *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* of Varāhamihira
15 त्रीणि कृतादीनिकलेर्गोऽगेक गुणा शकान्तेऽब्दा ।
—*Brahmasphuṭa-siddhānta*, I, v 26, also 27
16 शकनृपाणा पञ्चशत सयुक्तैर्वर्ष शते पञ्चभिरतीतै ।—Ibid
17 Satyaśrava, op cit , pp 42-44
18 See colophon of *Yaśastilakacampū*, Kāvyamālā Series, Bombay
19 *PIHC*, Lahore, p 53
20 *Pañcasiddhāntikā*, p 31, v 2, Lahore edn , *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, VIII 20
21 *IA*, VI, p 73
22 *EI*, VII, App , p 2, no 3
23 नवसत एकासीति सकगत शालिवाहन च नृपधीस।
—*EI*, XIX, p 22, Inscriptions of Northern India, no 134
24 Munīśvara in his *Siddhānta-sārvabhauma*, pt I, p 23, Banaras edn
25 See the Nasik Epitaph of Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarni, also see *PIHC*, Nagpur, 1950, pp 38-39
26 Somalpuram Grant of Virūpākṣa, *EI*, XVII, p 199
27 Jayaswal says, "The era of AD 78 is connected in Indian tradition with Ujjain" (*JBORS*, XVI, pts 3-4, p 232), R D Banerji, "The Śaka era originated in Western India" (*IA*, XXXVII, p 51), W W Tarn, "The Śaka era of AD 78 was also a Mālava era and was instituted by the Western (Saca) Satraps, to commemorate their independence and their retaking of Ujjain " (*Greeks in Bactria and India*, p 335)
28 *Tiloyapannati*, Solapur edn , ch IV, vv 1507-8 And it is corroborated by *Harivaṁśapurāna* and *Trilokasāra*
29 Dr A S Altekar places him in *c* AD 55 See "The Date of Nahapāna" in *PIHC*, Nagpur, 1950, pp 35-42
30 भच्छट्ठणाण (भत्थट्ठणाण) कालो दोण्णि सयाइ हवंति वादाला।
तत्तो गुत्ताताण रज्जेदोण्णिय सयामि इगितीसा।।
—*Tiloyapannati*, IV 1508
31 *Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit MSS in C P and Berar*, nos 94, 98, p xvi Following this lead the editors of *Tiloyapannati* have also translated this term as Bhratya-Āndhras

32 Satyaśrava, op cit, p 19

33 See Godha Pillar Insc of Rudrasena, in which he gives the names of his predecessors to all of which this epithet is added, viz , राजनमहाक्षत्रप भद्रमुखस्वामी चस्टन, etc., *EI*, X, App II, Southern Insc , no 962, also no 967

34 It may be noted that the Śaka Kṣatrapas of western India had by this time been fully Indianized in their language, religion, customs and practices and were not looked upon as foreigners They were also benevolent rulers and patronised art and learning (See Junagarh Insc of Rudradāman in ibid , no 965)

35 And if it is so, the name "Bhṛtya-Caṣṭanas" may also fit them

CHAPTER 5

The Earlier Śaka Era

IN THE PREVIOUS CHAPTER we discussed the popular and current Śaka era of AD 78 But it was not the only Śaka era instituted, and perhaps at one time prevalent, in India, nor was it the first That there was at least one more, an older or "Earlier Śaka Era," as K P Jayaswal designated it,[1] is a belief held by a majority of modern scholars.

The presence of the Śakas in India for a considerably long time prior to the appearance of the Caṣṭanas and the Kuṣāṇas on the Indian scene is a fact which nobody seems to doubt There is also a general tendency in favour of assigning the many Kharosṭhī and Brāhmī records relating to Maues, Azes and Gondophernes, Liaka and Paṭika, Rajjubala and Śoḍāsa, Nahapāna and Uṣavadāta, Kujula and Wima Kadphises, discovered in the north-west, the south-west and the Mathura region, which are dated in an unspecified era and range from the year 41 to 399, to some earlier era attributed to the Śakas themselves Opinions, however, differ as regards the starting point of this earlier Śaka era

Jayaswal believed it to have started somewhere between 145 and 100 BC,[2] and finally fixed it in 123 BC [3] R D Banerji places its commencement in 100 BC,[4] Sir John Marshall in 95 BC[5] and Wan Vijk in 84-80 BC,[6] Sten Konow formerly believed it to have started sometime between 88-60 BC[7] but he finally fixed it in 83 BC,[8] Smith and Boyer put it in 57 BC,[9] and there are others who identify it with the Vikrama era itself [10] Even Rapson, the greatest exponent of only one Indian Śaka era, and that too the one started by Kaniṣka in AD 78, admitted the possibility of the existence of an earlier Śaka era when he says, "And it may not unreasonably be suggested that the Śakas, like other foreign invaders at all periods, may have brought with them into India their own system of reckoning, and that this may be the Era used in Seistan " He suggested that it might have started in 150 BC,[11] and Tarn fixes it in 155 BC,[12] the former attributing it to the Parthians and the latter to the Śakas themselves

Of all these dates suggested for the commencement of the Earlier Śaka Era, Tarn's and Rapson's are the earliest But they do not seem to

be likely No trace of such an era starting in 150 BC or thereabout is available in Seistan and the adjoining regions In India, we begin to get records from the year 41of this era, which appears to be a reasonable time the Śakas may have taken to settle after their entry in this country At the same time it is such a small interval that it precludes the possibility of its having originated in far off Seistan Moreover, the dates in the above-mentioned Indian records if reckoned according to an era of 150 BC would place them in the second century BC which is too early a date for the Śaka chiefs mentioned in them, and which does not find favour with any scholar

To identify the ESE with the Vikrama era is also erroneous The Vikrama era has never been designated the Śaka era, at least for centuries until after the Śakas had been practically forgotten and the term Śaka had changed its etymological sense Besides, the Śaka Ksatrapas of the north and of the west would never have used an era which, as we have seen, was a reminder of their defeat and disgrace and which had been started by their enemies, the Mālavas, to celebrate their victory over and deliverance from the Śakas themselves The Vikrama era was not associated with the Śaka king Azes I as was believed by Marshall, or with Nahapāna the Śaka Ksaharāta as suggested by R D Banerji and Barnett, or with any other Śaka chief or even with any other foreigner The suggestion that the traditional Śaka era was none else but the Vikrama era itself, because it marked the death of a Śaka tyrant, seems to be far-fetched An era which symbolised the death, defeat and discomfiture of the Śakas could not be called a Śaka era and could not have been used as such by the Śakas themselves It is, however, possible that the Mālava people and their leader Vikramāditya were inspired by the example of the Śakas since we have reason to believe that at that date there certainly existed an era started by the Śakas The Mālavas might have adopted their reckoning and recommenced that era from the year of their victory, i e , 57 BC

Sten Konow seems to entertain the idea of three Śaka eras That a Śaka era did commence in AD 78 he has to admit, but he holds that its founder was Wima Kadphises, the predecessor of Kaniska The basis of his argument is the Khalātsi inscription, said to be dated in the year 184 or 187 He believes this record to belong to Wima Kadphises and that it must have been dated in the Earlier Śaka Era which could have commenced at the latest in 58 BC Hence the year 187 of this ESE would fall in AD 129 which, according to him, marked the last year of Wima's

and the first year of Kaniṣka's reign, and would thus prove that the Kaniṣka era commenced in AD 129 Further, that the year 136 of the Chir Stupa inscription belonging to Kujula Kadphises or Kadphises I marks the last year of that ruler's reign and the first year of that of Wima, and according to the above calculation this year would fall in AD 78 [13]

But in the light of the following criticisms, Konow's theory sounds untenable

We get no records in Wima's era, not even his own

From the Junagarh inscription of Kṣatrapa Rudradāman (AD 130-50) dated in the year 72 (AD 150) we learn that his rule extended to Sindhu and Sauvīra and that he was dependent on none (स्वयं अधिगतमहाक्षत्रप) If Kaniṣka's reign is made to commence in AD 129, he would be a contemporary of Rudradāman But from Kaniska's Sui Vihāra inscription we know that his kingdom included lower Indus valley Obviously these two rulers could not have been contemporaries of each other Caṣṭana and Rudradāman were contemporaries of Kuntal and Puḷumāyi Śātakarnis, and the latter belonged to the period of AD 78-150 This fact is also borne out by Ptolemy who writing in AD 140 mentions both Caṣ ṭana and Pulumāyi So these rulers cannot be placed much beyond AD 130

K P Jayaswal and John Marshall believed that there must have been some interval between Kadphises II and Kaniṣka, but Konow's calculations leave no room for such an interval

The Kuṣāna Śāhi whom the contemporary Chinese authorities speak of as conquering India at least 180 years after the independence of Tahia, which is said to have taken place in 134 BC was Yeng-Kao-Chen (Wima Kuṣīna) and not Kadphises I (i e , Kujula) This conqueror of India is therein said to have been the son of an octogenarian [14] The son of an eighty-year old father could not possibly have reigned for over 65 years (i e , 122-87 ESE) The same authority tells us that the king of Ta-Yueh-Chi had sent an embassy to the then Chinese emperor in 2 BC. The date is quite probable for that long-lived king, Wima's father We are further informed that the Chinese chronicler, Pan-Ku, who died in AD 92, refers to Yueh-Chi's occupation of Kabul It means that the Kusānas were in possession of Kabul before AD 92

The Kuṣāna inscriptions usually use one or more of the epithets, Kusāna or Guṣana Śāhi or Śāhānuśāhi, Rājātirāja and Devaputra, before the names of their kings Their earliest records, the Panjitar inscription of the year 122 and Chir Stupa inscription of the year 136 use the epithets

Devaputra and Kusāna, those of Kaniṣka and his successors also use one or more of these epithets [15] But the Khalātsi inscription which is alleged to be dated in the year 187 uses simply the expression "Mahārājasa-Uvimakavitthasa" according to Konow's own reading There is nothing very clear or authentic about the record It is not a state document Even if the year mentioned in it is proved to be correct, it is possible that the record might have belonged to some other Śaka chief, alien and antagonistic to the Kusānas, and who, therefore, instead of using Kaniṣka's era or the popular Śaka era of AD 78, used the Earlier Śaka era

It is evident from the Chinese sources that the first Kusāna chief who conquered India and set up a kingdom here was Wima Kadphises He was probably the second king of the line and might have made this conquest in the lifetime of his father, Kujula Kadphises There seems to be nothing in the records of 122 and 136 to make them belong to Kujula They may well belong to Wima and to him they should be attributed It would, therefore, mean that this Kadphises II invaded India sometime before 122 ESE and lived at least till the year 136 After a few years of his death Kaniska seems to have ascended the throne, about AD 78 In his records he used his own regnal years, but his successors by giving their dates in continuation of Kaniṣka's years gave this reckoning the shape of an era It, however, seems to have gone out of use even in the territories over which the Kusānas ruled, soon after their decline in the second century, though the real Śaka era which started in AD 78 in Ujjayinī cointinued to enjoy increasing popularity in the west and the south As we have seen there is every probability that Kaniska's accession almost coincided with the commencement of this era and thus there is no need to push his date forward to AD 129 or to some other later date In fact, no era is known to have commenced in the second century AD Most of the modern scholars, including Oldenberg, Thomas, Rapson, Banerji, Jayaswal, and Raychaudhuri, definitely fix Kaniṣka's accession in AD 78 Even Smith, when he says that the Kusāna era began about AD 60 or 65, not before AD 30 and not later than AD 78, confirms the same [16] Thus both the theories, that Kaniska ruled in the first century BC or that he lived in second or third century AD prove untenable [17] At the same time, it also implies that the advent of the Kusānas cannot be placed much earlier than AD 50 nor later than AD 78 which means the commencement of the ESE, in which Wima's inscriptions of years 122 and 136 are presumed to have been dated, too, cannot be pushed farther back beyond the sixties

or seventies of the first century BC Those who are in favour of earlier dates base their suggestions on vague conjectures or believe the era to have originated outside India

The earliest Śaka king mentioned in Indian inscriptions and coins is Maues (Mahārya Moga of the Taxila plate) His earliest available record is dated in the year 42 and a later one in the year 78 On the basis of the Chinese authorities referred to above, Raychaudhuri thinks that Maues should be placed after 33 BC, which would make the ESE begin in 75 BC Since this scholar is also inclined to identify the ESE with the Vikrama era, he says Maues might have ruled up to AD 20-22 [18] Apart from the fact that there is no likelihood of the Śakas' using an alien era, especially when it symbolised their own defeat and discomfiture, it is at variance with the date of Gondophernes who is definitely known to have begun his rule at Taxila in AD 19 and to have come after Maues [19]

Similarly, the Mathura Satraps, Rajjubala, Śoḍāsa, etc , could not have used the Vikrama era They must have used the ESE The arguments which scholars advance in favour of the records of these Satraps being dated in the era of 58 BC will equally hold good even if the ESE is proved to have commenced within a decade or so prior to 58 BC Some scholars, however, believe these records to have been dated in the era of Kaniska, which means AD 78 [20] There is no doubt that these Satraps were not Kusānas but were Śakas And Ptolemy (*c* AD 140) places neither Taxila nor Mathura within Indo-Scythia He mentions only Patalene, Ābhīra and Kāthiāwāda as parts of the Indian dominions of the Śakas, which is also confirmed by Rudradāman's Junāgarh inscription of that time Moreover, this theory would make Kaniska's successors contemporary to these Ksatrapas of Mathura But many inscriptions, especially Jaina ones, discovered from the neighbourhood of Mathura and belonging to both the Kusānas and the Ksatrapas, sometimes bearing identical date years, have no common names of the Jaina gurus or laity mentioned in them Names found in the Ksatrapa records are quite different from those in the Kusāna ones [21] The fact that in the same locality and in the records of the same community, belonging apparently to same dates, two different sovereign authorities, one as "Svāmī Mahāksatrapa" and the other as "Rājātirāja Śāhi Devaputra" find mention, but both never together, leaves no room for the belief that they might have been contemporaries The coins of the Ksatrapas succeed those of the Śuṅgas Rajjubala in his coinage imitates Strabo II Hence, as Marshall also says, if Rajjubala is nearer to the Śuṅgas and to Strabo II, these Kṣatrapas

cannot be placed so long after the beginning of the Christian era, never in the second century AD [22] It also appears that for some time Mathura was out of the hands of the Śakas A Jaina inscription from Mathura itself curiously confirms this fact The inscription is on a votive tablet (Āyāga-paṭṭa) set up by Simitā, the Kauśiki wife of Gotiputra, who is described herein as "a black serpent to the Poṭhayas and the Śakas "[23]

The date of Nahapāna and Uṣavadāta of the Kṣaharāta family of Śurāṣṭra is another baffling problem It is generally accepted that they preceded the Caṣṭanas, though some scholars still persist in assigning them to the second century AD [24] Several inscriptions ranging from the year 41 to 46, written at the instance of Nahapāna's son-in-law Uṣavadāta or his minister Ayam, and apparently in the lifetime of Nahapāna, have been discovered Those like Rapson, who believe all Indian records of the Śakas to have been dated in the era of AD 78, place Nahapāna in AD 119-24 Many scholars assign these records to the corresponding years of the ESE But since there are vast differences of opinion as regards the starting point of this era, Nahapāna is also placed in different parts of the first century BC Among these again, those in favour of a date towards the close of the first century BC (i e , 16-12 BC), taking the commencement of the ESE in 58 BC, are in the majority [25] But there are others who take these years not to belong to any regular era but to be merely the regnal years of Nahapāna They generally place him in the first century AD Deoras argued, "we must give up the theory that Nahapāna has to be placed in the second century AD As the coinage of Wima Kadphises was prevalent in the empire of Nahapāna, we may assign Nahapāna to *c* AD 37 to 85 "[26] A S Altekar fixed this ruler's date as AD 55-105 [27] If Nambanus, the king of Minnagar, mentioned in the *Periplus* (*c* AD 70), be identified with Nahapāna, he would certainly belong to about the middle of the first century AD The well-known rivalry and contemporaneity of Nahapāna with Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi also seems to favour this date

Among the Jaina sources, the *Niryukti* of the *Āvaśyakasūtra* as also the *Cūrṇi* on that Sūtra, give details of the defeat and death of Nahapāna at the hands of the Sātavāhanas at Bhṛgukaccha [28] The *Śrutāvatāra* of Bibudha Śrīdhara,[29] however, makes Nahapāna a king of Vāmmideśa with its capital at Vasundhara, and informs us that after ruling for some time he abdicated his throne and became a Jaina monk As such he came to be famous by the name of Ācārya Bhūtabali and was a disciple and contemporary of Arhadbali, Dharasena and Puṣpadanta As we shall

see in the next chapter all these gurus belong to about the middle of the first century AD Nahapāna would also belong to this period, provided there is some truth in this tradition. We have seen that the *Tiloyapannati* placing him in-between the Gardabhillas and the Caṣṭanas seems to assign him to AD 26-76

All this discussion about Nahapāna, therefore, shows that either the years in his inscriptions are his own regnal years, or they are the years of the ESE, in which case they must have been the very early years of his reign of fourty years and that the ESE must have started not more than a decade or so before 57 BC

Then we have an inscription of Gondophernes of the year 103 from which it seems that he then ruled at Gāndhāra [30] That this ruler belonged to the first half of the first century AD is an established fact.[31] Hence his inscriptions must have been dated in the ESE which must have started not very long before 57 BC

On the basis of the Lion Capital inscription of Mathura (*c* 25 BC), Sten Konow surmises that the several Śaka chiefs, viz , Rajjubala, Śoḍāsa, etc , mentioned therein, were those who had been driven out of Ujjayinī in 56 BC by king Vikrama who then started an era, that the Śakas then established their rule in Mathura about the same time, and that thus the same base was used for two different reckonings—the independence of Malwa and the establishment of the Śaka power in Mathura [32] In another context, the same scholar says, "Jaina sources tell us of a tradition about the Śaka chiefs who conquered Malwa but were ousted by Vikrama, and they go on to say that another Śaka king made an end to his dynasty and established an era of his own after 135 years of Vikrama This episode explains the origin of the Śaka era " Sten Konow thus places the first appearance of the Śakas on the Indian scene a little before 57 BC—and in this he has not only made good use of the Jaina sources but is also not far from the truth

That they were the Śakas of Seistan who established their rule in India in the first century BC is an admitted fact J J Modi proves on the evidence of the *Avesta,* the inscriptions of Darius and of Pahlavi and Persian books, that Śakasthāna (Seistan) had been under the Iranians for a long time prior to 160 BC [33] About 135 BC the Śakas driven from their home on the north bank of the Oxus by pressure of the Yue-Chi, overran the Greek kingdom of Bactria Expelled even from their new settlement by their relentless pursuers they flung themselves upon Parthia And it was not till the end of the reign of the Parthian king Mithridates II (123-88 BC)

that they were finally worsted in the struggle Thus by a fortunate accident the Greek kingdom of upper Kabul valley obtained a new lease [34] But in 88 BC Mithridates II himself died and there was none to keep them in check Soon they threw away the yoke of Parthia and became independent It was sometimes after this event that the Śakas, actuated by the enthusiasm of a newly won victory and freed for a time from the relentless pursuit of their enemies, marched forward to India, crossed the Hindukush and settled in Puskalāvatī and Taxila Thence they spread over the whole of the lower Indus valley And these Indus valley settlements of the early Śakas came to be known as Sagakula, Śakasthāna or Indo-Scythia In doing so they seem to have met practically no resistance The first entry of the Śakas into India cannot, therefore, be placed before 84-80 BC and it might well have taken place sometimes between 80-70 BC

From the *Kālakācārya Kathānaka,* referred to in the previous chapter, it apears that the Sagakula was not far from Malwa Having failed in all his attempts to make the tyrannical and licentious Gardabhilla see sense and undo the injustice he had done, Kālaka went to these Śaka Śāhis who are said to have been 96 in number and who were settled in Sindh He succeeded in persuading them to help him in punishing the tyrant With him they came to Malwa, fought Gardabhilla and forced him to flee from the country The date of this Kālaka who was the second guru of that name according to the pontifical lists is found to be, on independent evidence, ME 453[35] (or 74 BC), whereas according to the dynastic chronologies the date of Gardabhilla (Darpana or Mahendrāditya Gandharvasena) comes to ME 453-66 (or 74-61 BC) [36] From the text of the same *Kathānaka* we also learn that the Śakas had to fight for full four years before they could finally force the king of Ujjayinī to give up the struggle and flee away They were now the sole masters of Ujjayinī, but they could enjoy the fruit of their victory only for four more years at the end of which they were defeated and driven away from that place According to the above reckoning this event took place in 57 BC, which coincides exactly with the starting point of the Mālava or Vikrama era which was founded by the people to commemorate their liberation from the Śakas Thus the Śakas ruled over Malwa from 61-57 BC and previous to that they had been fighting for 4 years (i e , 65-61 BC) for the possession of Ujjayinī

The year 66 BC, therefore, marked their first entry into Malwa and their encampment in the neighbourhood of Ujjayinī It might also have witnessed their first victory, though a partial and indecisive one In order

to celebrate this first success on Indian soil, outside their Sagakula, the Śaka Śāhis started an era The principal Śaka Śāhis or lieutenants, after their defeat and expulsion from Ujjayinī in 57 BC, seem to have dispersed over the country Thus Ghaṭaka and Bhūmaka, the predecessors of Nahapāna, settled in Surāṣṭra and Kāṭhiāwāḍa, those of Rajjubala went to Mathura and settled there, some like Mevaki reached as far as Varanasi, others like Liaka and Paṭika settled at Taxila and in the Punjab, and so on All these Śaka chiefs called themselves Ksaharātas or Kṣtrapas (i e , satraps), and though most of them were virtually independent rulers, they seem to have owed nominal allegiance to the Śāhānuśāhi at Puṣkalāvatī, who was probably the predecessor of Maues

That the ESE started in 66 BC is also curiously confirmed by another still more ancient Jaina text, the *Tiloyapaṇṇati* [37] In its fourth chapter in the course of describing the Āryakhaṇḍa of the Bharataksetra, an important part of the Jambudvīpa, the work gives some valuable historical traditions in about 43 verses While discussing the date of Mahāvīra, it states (in vv 1496) that "After the lapse of 461 years from the *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra the Śakarājā came in power " In vv 1501, 1503 and 1504 it again refers to this date of the Śaka king and makes him the founder of a line of kings which is said to have lasted for two centuries and a half Moreover, after specifically stating in v 1496, his own belief, or the one which he held to be the best supported in his own times, regarding the beginning of the Śaka rule (i e , ME 461 = 66 BC), in the next three verses the author of this text goes on to state three other divergent or alternative views on this point, using with them the word (अहवा, or) The last of these views places the Śaka king 605 years and 5 months after the *nirvāṇa* which exactly coincides with the starting point of the later Śaka era in the middle of the Indian month of Caitra of the year AD 78 The other two views given in-between seem to be enigmatic and at present seem to bear no simple explanation It is, however, quite evident from the text that the figure which the original author favoured and regarded as the correct one of all the four was 461 And ME 461 falls in 66 BC

From a discussion of the views of modern scholars on this point, we have already seen that there is nothing improbable about this date The different classes of Jaina sources—the *Kālakācārya Kathānaka,* the *Paṭṭāvalis,* dynastic chronologies, traditions relating to Vikrama and the Śakas, and the *Tiloyapannati*—all clearly point to this date more or less definitely The histories of the Indo-Greeks of Bactria, the Indo-Parthians of Parthia, the Indo-Scythians of Seistan and Indo-Scythia, the Chinese

authorities, Ptolemy's evidence, the facts about the Śaka-Sātavāhana rivalry, the archaeological, numismatic, epigraphic and palaeographic evidence—all go to confirm this date Most of the modern scholars who believe in the existence of the ESE, whatever their opinions may be about its starting point, seem to have nothing to say against this date The arguments of those in favour of some date between 84 and 57 BC, in support of their respective suggestions, can equally well apply in favour of this date

It would also mean that like the Vikrama and the later Śaka eras this ESE of 66 BC, too, was associated in its origin with Ujjayinī This celebrated city was not only the capital of Malwa which incidentally has been one of the richest regions in the whole of India, but was also the foremost centre of intellectual and cultural activity in the county and continued to be so till the close of the middle ages Centrally situated, this home of India art and learning has ever been the meeting place of cultures and civilizations of the North and the South, and the East and the West All important and powerful emperors or kings of India coveted its possession No wonder the early Śakas considered their first attempt on this city a worthy occasion for starting an era [38] Their era was also a Krta era, as it began in the month of Kārttika They might have adopted the reckoning of the Jainas (i e , the ME) and simply recommenced it from that important year of their career in India, or the event itself might have incidentally fallen in that month At least eight years after, the Mālavas certainly seem to have adopted this ESE, recommencing it from the year of their own victory in 57 BC The Śakas could get an opportunity to write off this disgrace only 135 years after that event when they again conquered Ujjayinī and started another era of their own According to Ptolemy also the capital to Tiastanes (Caṣṭanas) was Ozene (VII, 63)

We do not know whether the Śakas had brought some reckoning of their own with them from Seistan or Parthia If there was any it seems to have been given up soon after their settling in India. It is also not likely that they started some era on their first entry into India and settling at Puṣkalāvatī, for there would be no sense in starting another era only a few years later if such an era had existed At least the Śaka satraps of Mathura, Varanasi, Surāstra, Sindh and Taxila seem to have dated their records in this ESE of 66 BC We begin to get these records from the year 41 In the north-west and in the Mathura region for a time Kaniṣka's era superseded this ESE, but after the decline of the Kuṣāṇas, the ESE again seems to have come into use The Brāhmī inscription of the year 299

from Mathura and the three Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of the years 318, 384 and 399 from the North-Western regions seem to have been dated in the ESE of 66 BC In the west and the south, however, the Śaka era of the Caṣṭanas, of AD 78, absolutely superseded the ESE and went on gaining increasing popularity

Some of the relevant dates in this ESE of 66 BC would be

Nahapāna	—year	41	=	25 BC[39]
Nahapāna, Usavadāta and Ayam	—years	41-46	=	25-20 BC
Mathura Lion Capital Inscription of Maues	—year	42	=	24 BC
Taxila Satraps— Liaka, Paṭika, etc	—year	72	=	AD 6
Śodāsa of Mathura	—year	72	=	AD 6
Taxila Copperplate of Moga	—year	78	=	AD 12
Gondophernes	—year	85	=	AD 19
Gondophernes	—year	103	=	AD 37
Mahārāja Guṣana-Panjatar Insc	—year	122	=	AD 56
Wima Kadphises-Taxila silver scroll	—year	136	=	AD 70
Khalātsi Insc	—year	187	=	AD 121
Taxila Duck Vase Insc of Jihonika	—year	191	=	AD 125
Mathura Inscription	—year	299	=	AD 233
Kharoṣṭhī Inscription	—year	318	=	AD 252
Kharosṭhī Inscription	—year	384	=	AD 318
Kharoṣṭhī Inscription	—year	399	=	AD 333

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2 Ibid
3 Ibid , XVI, pts 3-4, p 240
4 *IA*, 1908, XXXVII, pp 63-67
5 *JRAS*, 1914, p 986
6 Konow, *CII*, II, pt I, *Acta Orientalia*, Oslo, 1924, III, p 83
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9 V A Smith, *The Jaina Stupa and other Antiquities of Mathura*, Allahabad, 1901, Introduction
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11 Rapson, *CHI*, I, p 570, *JRAS*, 1930, pp 186, 193

12. W W Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India,* Cambridge, 1938, App 16, p 502
13 Konow, *CII,* II, pt I
14 This Chinese authority is the Hou-Han-Shu (AD 445) whose principal source about these Yueh-Chi is Pan-Ku (AD 25-55), vide, O Franke, *IA,* 1906, pp 33-47, also Raychaudhuri's *Political History of Ancient India,* Calcutta, 1950, pp 458-73, R C Majumdar and A D Pusalker, *The Age of Imperial Unity,* p 122
15 For example a Mathura Inscription mentions Kaniṣka as
महाराज राजातिराज देवपुत्र शाही कनिष्क।
—See *EI,* X, App , no 21
16 V A Smith, *The Jain Stupa and other Antiquities of Mathura,* pp 4-5
17 Bhandarkar seems to have placed Kaniska's accession in AD 278, *IA,* 1908, p 55
18 H C Raychaudhuri, *PHAI,* pp 439-40
19 W W Tarn, op cit , App XVI, pp 494-98, *CHI,* I, p 576.
20 See *EI,* X, App *IA,* 1908, p 55, *CHI,* I, p 585
21 Vide, *EI,* X, App List of Brahmi Inscriptions, H Lüders
22 Marshall, *Indian Coins,* p 13, *CHI,* vol I, pl V 7
23 *EI,* X, App , no 94 Incidentally this Jaina inscription is, besides the Mathura Lion Capital Inscription, the earliest epigraphical record to mention the Śakas, *IA,* 1908, p 49
24 For example, Rapson, *CHI,* I, p 585
25 viz , Duberuil, *Ancient History of Deccan,* pp 20ff , Bakhle, *JBBRAS,* 1927, pp 66ff , Cunningham, *ASI,* etc
26 *PIHC,* 1940, pp 152-53
27 Ibid , 1950, pp 35-42
28 See Jayaswal, *Dynasties of the Kali Age,* pp 49ff , and Deoras, *PIHC,* 1940, p 150
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30 See H K Deb, *JRAS,* 1922, p 42
31 Rapson assigns him to AD 19-45 and his inscription of year 103, of his 26th year to AD 45 (*CHI,* I, p 576)
32 "Notes on Indo-Scythian Chronology," *Journal of Indian History,* XVII, pp 22-23
33 *JBORS,* XVII, pt II, p 337
34 U N Ghoshal, *Ancient Indian Culture in Afghanistan*
35 तिसयपणवीस इंदो, चउसयतिपन्न (४५३) सरसईगहिआ।
नवसय तिनवइवीरावउरिथए, जो कालगायरिआ।।
—Cited in "Kālakācārya," *Anekānta,* X, I, p 37, also see *Khartara Gaccha Paṭṭāvali,* Kalyānavijaya's "Abhikālaka," *Dwivedi Volume,*

Banaras, pp 94-120

36 Cf *Abhidhāna Rājendrakośa*, V, p 1289

37 The date of its original composition by Yativṛṣabha is *c* AD 176, but in its present form the work appears to be a subsequent recension dating *c* AD 750 (published from Solapur 1951)

38 In *The Jaina Stupa etc* Smith also expressed the opinion that the Earlier Śaka era probably coincided with the accession of Nahapāna in western India and that it originated in the west and not in the north of India

39 In case they are not the regnal years

CHAPTER 6

The Sarasvatī Movement

FROM THE KANKĀLĪ ṬĪLĀ site in the neighbourhood of Mathura a mutilated image of goddess Sarasvatī, holding in her left hand a book of loose leaves, the cover of which is marked with a *gomūtrika* design, and holding out her right hand probably in *varada* or *abhaya mudrā*, and with an inscription in old Brāhmī characters, dated in the year 54, has been discovered [1] This goddess is the presiding deity of learning and literature in the Jaina as well as Hindu pantheons The image in question is not only the earliest known image of a Jaina Sarasvatī but is also the oldest representation of that goddess so far discovered in the whole of India Two small attendant figures, one on each side of the deity, stand near its feet and one of them is found wearing a Śaka uniform The image is said to have been dedicated by a worker in metal *(lohika-kāruka)*, Gova, the son of Siha, at the request of Vācaka Āryadeva, the companion *(śraddhācāro)* of Ganī Ārya Māga Hasti, the disciple of Vācaka Ārya Hastahasti, out of the Kottiya Gana, Thāniya Kula, Vaira Śākhā [2] The inscription mentions no king and there is nothing in it which can assign it either to the period of the Ksatrapas or to that of the Kuṣānas Hence the image could have been dated equally well in either the ESE of 66 BC or in the SE of AD 78, which would accordingly assign it to 12 BC at the earliest and to AD 132 at the latest It might not necessarily have been the first image of this type The practice of setting up such images of Sarasvatī might have started earlier, and even prior to that it must have taken considerable time to conceive and then popularise this symbolic representation of literature

For the bookless Nirgranthas, who had ever been averse to reducing anything including their scriptures to writing, the installation of such images of goddess Sarasvatī, holding a book in her hand, is a surprisingly singular fact which itself is eloquent of its importance This image, in fact, symbolises in a remarkable manner the great Jaina renaissance which began to bear fruit by the beginning of the Christian era This great

Sarasvatī movement, as we may call it, began sometime in the first half of the second century BC, and it was an accomplished fact by the end of the first century AD It was this movement that opened the gates for the tremendous literary activity of the Jainas But for this movement we would perhaps not have had the rich literary and cultural heritage which constitutes an important part of our national wealth and a valuable source of our country's past history Moreover, if the period covered by the Sarasvatī movement in the Jaina world coincides, on the one hand, with a similar epoch of renaissance in Brahmanism and Buddhism and even outside India in Greece, Rome, Egypt, China and Persia, it also marks, on the other hand, a period of transition in the political history of India and certainly saw events of far-reaching importance in the history of the Jaina Samgha Hence the historical importance of the Sarasvatī movement cannot be exaggerated

In order to realise the full significance of this movement it is necessary to know the nature and movement and history of the Jaina Samgha in the post-Mahāvīra centuries A number of Digambara as well as Śvetāmbara *Pattāvalis*, the *Śrutāvatāra-kathās*, ancient texts like the *Paīnnas* and the *Tiloyapannati*, early works like the *Niryuktis*, *Cūrnis*, *Bhāṣyas*, *Jambudvīpa-prajñapti*, *Dhavala*, *Jayadhavala*, *Harivamśa-purāna* and *Ādipurāna* and the later *Kathākośas* and *Prabandhas* throw ample light on this period and help us to reconstruct with almost a certainty the early history of the Jaina Samgha

A critical and comparative examination of these sources brings out the following facts

Almost simultaneously with the *nirvāna* of Mahāvīra his chief disciple (Ganadhara), Indrabhūti Gautama, attained *kevala-jñāna* and after his own *nirvāna* was succeeded by Sudharma, and the latter, in his turn, by Jambu Svāmi The total period allotted to these three gurus is 62 years (i e , 527-465 BC) All the three were, like Mahāvīra, Arhat Kevalins and they attained *nirvāna* Both the Digambara and the Śvetāmbara accounts are in perfect agreement as to their respective names, character and total period Some sources, especially the Prākrta *Paṭṭāvali* of the Nandi Samgha,[3] also give their individual periods as 12, 12 and 38 years respectively

After the three Kevalins came the five Śrutakevalins, one after the other They are said to have had the full and complete knowledge of the scriptures but could never attain the spiritual status of an Arhat Kevalin The Digambara accounts allot to them a total period of 100 years, whereas

the Śvetāmbara accounts that of 116 years The names of the first four gurus are also slightly different in the two traditions, but they are in full agreement as to Bhadrabāhu I being the last guru of this group They do not differ as regards the twelve-year famine that took place in Magadha in his times nor as regards the consequent emigration of the Jaina Samgha under his leadership But while the Digambara tradition states that the Samgha migrated to the south, Śvetāmbara tradition says that Bhadrabāhu went to Nepal The origin of the great schism, which later on developed into Digambara and Śvetāmbara sects, is ultimately traced to this event Bhadrabāhu Śrutakevalin is admittedly believed to have been the last custodian of the full and whole scriptural knowledge as was taught by Lord Mahāvīra A number of inscriptions found in Śravana Belgola, and reaching back to the early centuries of the Christian era, testify to this migration of the Jaina Samgha under Bhadrabāhu to south India, particularly Karnataka [4]

After Bhadrabāhu I, the succession diverges, that of the Śvetāmbaras running quite separate from and independent of that of the Digambaras The former represented probably the succession of the gurus who had stayed behind in Magadha in spite of the famine After the Mauryas, the Śungas came into power They are credited with the revival of Brahmanism and are said to have been antagonistic to Jainism and Buddhism Consequently in their times the Magadhan branch of the Jaina Samgha migrated to Ujjayinī and for several centuries it continued to be their stronghold, Afterwards they shifted to Valabhī in Gujarat The portion of the Samgha that had migrated to the south, spread all over the Deccan, Andhra, Trikalinga, Tuluva and Tamil countries, although Karnataka was its chief stronghold Mathura, however, continued to be a sort of meeting place of the divergent sections and the gurus of this centre acted as a unifying force Though they developed their own Ganas, Kulas and Śākhās, they allied themselves to neither of the two sections in particular and several important gurus hailing from Mathura have been equally owned by both the sects There are two other points on which both the Digambara and the Śvetāmbara traditions are again in agreement—first, that after Bhadrabāhu there commenced a gradual diminution and deterioration in the original scriptural knowledge, second, that these early Jaina monks were very conservative and absolutely averse to writing down their scriptures or even anything else They were afraid lest by redaction the scriptures should suffer from corruption Moreover, their vow of possessionlessness and the rules of

asceticism which forbade them to reside in any one place for a long time or to associate themselves unduly with householders and city or town life made it impracticable for them to pursue such literary activities. And they thought that their religious order was so well organized that they could vouchsafe the integrity, genuineness and intactness of whatever portion of the original teaching of the Lord had come down to them by oral tradition. The institution of Saṃghācāryas (heads of congregations), Ganis (sectional leaders), Upādhyāyas (professors), Vācakācāryas (readers or reciters), Uccāraṇācāryas (experts in spelling and pronunciation), Pracchakācāryas (adept in asking questions), and so on, seemed to guarantee the preservation of the scriptures in their purity and original form even if they were not redacted and were only kept in memory and transmitted by word of mouth. Nevertheless, the canonical knowledge continued to decline in volume as well as in substance.

In the Śvetāmbara tradition, after Bhadrabāhu's departure Sthūlabhadra assumed the leadership of the Saṃgha in Magadha. He was a contemporary of Maurya Candragupta and Bindusāra and was the last guru to have a full knowledge of the 14 *Pūrvas*. After the famine was over he convened a council at Pāṭaliputra, at which the remnant of the Saṃgha left behind in Magadha tried to put in order the sacred lore that had fallen into a state of decay. Sthūlabhadra was succeeded by Ārya Mahāgiri and then came Suhastin who was the religious preceptor of the Maurya king Samprati who is said to have been a devout Jaina and to have done much for the glory of his religion. After Suhastin came Susthita, Indradinna (Kālaka I), Priyagrantha and Vṛddhavādī, one after the other. At this time lived Kālaka II of the Śaka-Vikrama fame. Then followed Dinnasūri, Siṃhagiri and Vairasvāmi. The last of these was the last Daśapūrvī or keeper of a part of the original canon. It was in his time in ME 609 (or AD 82) that the gradually growing schism in the Jaina Saṃgha was finalised and the two sects, Śvetāmbara and Digambara, separated for good. This guru was succeeded by Vajrasena. In the meantime the scriptural knowledge had gone on declining and the canon was again reduced to a state of disorder. Hence in ME 827-40 (or AD 300-313) a council was convened at Mathura under the Presidentship of Ārya Skandila (the 33rd pontiff according to the *Kalpasūtra Therāvalī*), at which whatever could be gathered from different monks was fixed in the form of the canon. Simultaneously, another council was held at Valabhī by Nāgārjuna Sūri and it also made a similar attempt. But the two versions disagreed in many points and hence no redaction took place.

Finally, in ME 980 (or 993), i e , in AD 453 (or 466), at another council at Valabhī held under the chairmanship of Devarddhigani an attempt to reconcile the different readings of the former councils was made and the available texts were finally written down [5] Between Devarddhigani and the above-mentioned Vajrasena some 13 gurus are said to have intervened

In the Digambara tradition, after Bhadrabāhu I came the 11 Daśa-pūrvīs, one after the other, and they took in all 181 years The next group was a succession of five Ekādaśa-angadhārīs, which lasted 123 years They were succeeded by another group of four gurus who had the knowledge of 10,10,9, and 8 *Angas* respectively, coming one after the other and taking in all 99 years Bhadrabāhu II (37-14 BC) was the third guru of this group, and generally all the Digambara *Pattāvalis* begin from him Lohācārya (14 BC-AD 38) was the last of these four He is reputed to have spread Jainism in the Punjab, particularly in Agrohā and also to have founded the Kāsthāsamgha After this group came the five Ekāngadhārīs or Ācārāngadhārīs who took in all 118 years They were Arhadbali, Māghanandi, Dharasena, Puspadanta and Bhūtabali. They are all important historical names as we shall presently see According to some sources, after Lohācārya and simultaneously with the last group, four Ārātīya Yatis, named Vinayadhara, Śrīdatta, Śivadatta, and Arahadatta, flourished Of these, Arahadatta seems to have been identical with Arhadbali, the first guru of the last group A total period of 683 years is assigned to the above-mentioned 33 successors of Mahāvīra (excluding the four Ārātiya Yatis), giving an average of some 20 years each It is unanimously believed that the flow by word of mouth of the original canonical knowledge lasted only up to the end of this period [6]

About this time the redaction of the surviving canonical knowledge was undertaken by the Digambara Ācāryas of the south The monks credited with this great task are placed by some sources within this period of 683 years (i e , AD 38-156) and by others soon after ME 683 (or AD 156) A part of the traditional knowledge was redacted by Dharasena, Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali, and another by Gunadhara, Āryamankhu and Nāgahasti The authorities are generally doubtful as regards the exact dates and *guru-paramparā* (succession) of these redactors of the canon Their sole and unanimous emphasis is on the point that the original canonical tradition in the memory of authorised saints survived only up to ME 683 (or AD 156) and that after that date such gurus ceased to exist [7]

The story of this redaction as revealed by the different sources tells

us that after Lohācārya, the twenty-eighth guru in succession after Mahāvīra, there was left none who had the knowledge of any *Anga* or *Pūrva* as a whole, but that a partial and fragmentary knowledge of the *Aṅgas* and *Pūrvas* still continued to flow by word of mouth and to be preserved in the memory of certain saints Dharasena was one of these last repositories of such knowledge. He was a renowned saint, a great ascetic and a master of the *Aṣṭānga Mahānimitta* (clairvoyant knowledge) He resided in the Candraguphā (Moon-cave) of Girinagara in Surāṣṭra Fearing lest the surviving traditional canon should be lost with him, he sent a message to the Ācāryas of the Dakṣiṇāpatha who were at that time assembled in the city of Venākataṭīpura or Mahimā situated on the bank of the river Venyā, in the Āndhra country [8] The assembly thereupon sent to him two well-qualified saintly scholars, Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali by name On their arrival Dharasena put them to some appropriate tests and, being satisfied with their ability, imparted to them the knowledge he had and bade them to reduce it to writing The subject thus treated was the *Mahākarma-prakṛtiprābhṛta* The two then took leave of the guru, came to Ankuleśvara (modern Broach) and passed the rainy season there After the rainy season was over, Jinapālita, who was a nephew of Puspadanta, came to them With him the latter migrated to the Banavāsideśa while Bhūtabali went towards the Dramiladeśa [9] Puṣpadanta then initiated Jinapālita into the order, composed the first 20 cardinal *Sūtras,* incorporating a part of the canonical knowledge received from Dharasena, and sent Jinapālita to Bhūtabali with the manuscript Then Bhūtabali completed the remaining major portion of the work which was divided into six main divisions and hence called the *Saṭkhandāgama-siddhānta* [10] This work in the main incorporated in it the fourth *Prābhṛta* of the fifth *Vastu* of the *Agrāyanī Pūrva* of the *Pūrva* subdivision of the twelfth *Anga* along with fragments from other *Angas* and *Pūrvas* [11] The work was completed on the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Jyestha, which has since been known as the festival of Śruta-Pañcamī and has continued to be celebrated to this day by the worship of the scriptures and of the goddess Sarasvatī

Like Dharasena there was another saint named Gunadhara who had a similar partial and fragmentary knowledge of the original canon and had in particular a mastery over the *Kaṣāyaprābhṛta* which formed the third *Pāhuda* of the tenth *Vastu* of the fifth *Pūrva* (i e , *Jñānapravāda)* of the same *Anga* (i e , the twelfth) Inspired by a similar motive he incorporated the subjectmatter of that portion of the canon in 180

mūlasūtras plus 53 supplementary *sūtras* and reduced them to writing.[12] After sometime this work came into the hands of Āramaṅkhu from whom it passed on to Nāgahasti It was from the latter that Yativṛṣabha got these *sūtras* and on them he wrote 6,000 *Cūrṇisūtras*.

Thus the two sets of the Digambara canon were finally redacted, and a number of commentaries were written on them in subsequent times. The last and the most important commentaries on these works are the *Dhavala* and the *Jayadhavala* written by Vīrasena in the eighth century AD.

As regards the exact dates of these redactions no definite information is available The redactors do not seem to have belonged to any regular line of pontifical succession Indranandi (*c* AD 950) in his *Śrutāvatāra* expressly admits his inability to throw more light on the life, time or *guru-paramparā* of these ancient scholars, because there were no records or gurus present in his time who could help him in this respect No other source either gives us any definite help Still there is no doubt about the fact that they must have lived not much before the beginning of the Christian era and not later than ME 683 (or AD156)

The Prākrta *Pattāvali* of the Mūlanandi Samgha[13] which is one of the oldest *Pattāvalis* and is the only Digambara *Pattāvali* which also gives the years of individual gurus who succeeded Mahāvīra during that period of 683 years, seems to be more reliable It places Dharasena, Puspadanta and Bhūtabali after the Ācārāngadhārīs, the last of whom was Lohācārya and who according to this *Pattāvali* died in ME 565 (or AD 38) This *Pattāvali*, however, seems to imply that the five gurus, including Dharasena, etc , of this last group came one after the other But in this it appears to be a bit mistaken While there is nothing unbelievable in the fact that all of them lived sometime between AD 38 and AD 156, they all seem to have been more or less contemporaries Arhadbali tops this list He was the greatest Samghācārya of his time and is known to have convened a great assembly of Jaina monks It must have been this very assembly of the Ācāryas of the Dakṣināpatha held at the city of Mahimā (or Venākatatīpura) to which Dharasena is said to have sent his message So Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali are proved to have been contemporaries not only of Dharasena but also of Arhadbali whose date is AD 38-66

An old catalogue of Jaina works, named the *Brhadtippanikā* and dated AD 1383, mentions that Dharasena wrote a Prākṛta treatise on *Mantra-śāstra*, by the name of *Jonipāhuda*, in ME 600 (or AD 73) [14] No other Dharasena, either in the Digambara or the Śvetāmbara tradition, is

known to have lived in those times, and this Dharasena is reputed to have been a great *mantravādī* as also a staunch supporter of Prākṛta

Moreover, another Jaina tradition makes Bhūtabali identical with Nahapāna, the Śaka Kṣaharāta of Surāṣṭra.[15] According to our calculation he seems to have ascended the throne in AD 26, i e , after the hundred year rule of the Gardabhillas which had commenced with the accession of Vikrama's father, the Gardabhilla of the *Kālakācārya Kathānaka* fame, in 74 BC Nahapāna is said to have ruled for 40 years, which would thus end in AD 66 This date exactly coincides with the last year of Arhadbali's pontificate when he seems to have had convened that great council of all the south Indian monks at the banks of the Vena Incidentally, it was at this council that Arhadbali is said to have allowed the breaking up of the Mūla Saṃgha into several subdivisions like the Nandi, Sena, Deva, Simha, Bhadra, etc [16] So if there is any truth in the tradition which identifies Bhūtabali with Nahapāna, the latter, after his defeat at the hands of Gautamīputra Śātakarni, might have abdicated the throne and become a Jaina monk He was a great monarch and must have been well educated. He might have been in his sixties when he became a Jaina monk Hence even though newly initiated he might have been considered quite capable for the important task of redacting the canon Then, he was taught by such an eminent guru as Dharasena and was guided in his work by his senior colleague Puṣpadanta The completion of the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* by Bhūtabali is said to have taken place some considerable time after his meeting with Dharasena

A tradition attributes a commentary, named *Parikarma*, on a part of this work to Padmanandi who is identified with Kundakunda Another tradition attributes the same not to Kundakunda but to a disciple of his, named Kundakīrti Kundakunda belongs to the first half of the first century AD

The Junagarh Jaina stone inscription,[17] originally discovered in that very Candraguphā of Girinagar which tradition makes the abode of Dharasena, throws interesting light on the lower limit of the date of these redactors of the canon The inscription is undated, but its author is mentioned as the great-grandson of Caṣṭana, the grandson of Jayadāman and the son of (name missing) There is no doubt that it must have been Rudradāman The name of the author is also missing, but he too seems to be none else than Damajadaśrī, the son and successor of Rudradāman, who succeeded his father about SE 72 (or AD 150). The inscription further informs that the place was sanctified by the *Samādhu-*

marana (ideal mode of death for Jaina ascetics) of someone who had obtained the knowledge of the Kevalins, which event had been celebrated by Deva-Asura-Nāga-Yakṣa, etc The last statement clearly indicates that the event referred to must have taken place some considerable time before the date of the inscription for, otherwise, how could the tradition take such a legendary character

Lastly, the finalisation of the schism which divided the so long apparently united Jaina Saṁgha into two permanent sects, the Digambara and the Śvetāmbara, is said to have taken place, according to the tradition of the former, in AD 79[18] at the city of Valabhī, and, according to the tradition of the latter, in AD 82 at Rahavīrapura [19] It is obvious that the redaction of the Digambara canon by Dharasena, Bhūtabali, etc , as also the reorganization of the south Indian congregation, the members of which had begun to call themselves as belonging to the Mūla or original Jaina Saṃgha, into several divisions like the Nandi, Sena, etc , must have constituted the most potent and immediate causes of this irretrievable cleavage

Dharasena may be safely assigned to *c* AD 40-75, Puspadanta to AD 50-80 and Bhūtabali to AD 66-90, and the completion of the *Satkhandāgama* by the latter to *c* AD 75

The other redactor of the canon, Gunadhara, is believed to have lived even before Dharasena [20] With his work are associated the names of Āryamankhu, Nāgahasti and Yativṛṣabha The *Śrutāvatāras* seem to make them all more or less contemporaries But much older and more authentic works like the *Dhavala* and *Jayadhavala* leave no doubt as regards the fact that Āryamankhu lived sometime after the death of Gunadhara and that he obtained the latter's *sūtras* through his own gurus [21] And although Āryamankhu and Nāgahasti are generally mentioned together the relation between the two is also not clear They might have been separated by some interval As a matter of fact these two gurus are also owned by the Śvetāmbaras and mentioned in their *Pattāvalis*, one of which gives the date of Āryamankhu as ME 450 (or 77 BC) and another as ME 467 (or 60 BC) They place Nāgahasti 130 or 150 years after Āryamankhu, which would mean between AD 53 and 90 But some other *Pattāvalis* assign Nāgahasti to VE 151-219 (or AD 94-162) [22] Moreover, Yativṛṣabha is invariably made to be an immediate disciple or junior colleague (*antevāsī*) of Nāgahasti[23] and he cannot be placed much before AD 176 The Sarasvatī inscription from Mathura, already referred to, curiously mentions the name of Nāgahasti The inscription

mentions that the image was set up at the instance of one Āryadeva the disciple or junior colleague (*śraddhācāro*) of Nāgahasti. The same two gurus in the same manner have been mentioned in another inscription found in the same place [24] The latter is dated in the year 52, while the former in 54 In both these inscriptions the name in question has no doubt been read as Māgahasti, but considering their age, mutilated condition and the palaeography of the Brāhmī script the original could have been Nāgahasti The teacher of this Nāgahasti is named in these inscriptions as Hastahasti which itself is synonymous with Nāgahasti The epithets, Ārya, Gani and Vācaka, used for the guru in these inscriptions are exactly those which are found used for him in literary tradition As his name is not found in any regular succession list of either the Digambaras or the Śvetāmbaras and as he appears to have originally belonged to the north rather than the south, together with the fact that he is owned by both the sects, there is every possibility of his having belonged to Mathura which, though a premier centre of Jainism in those days, was still free from the pernicious influence of schismatic tendencies Moreover, the fact that his name is found inscribed on the image of the Sarasvatī clearly indicates his active association with the Sarasvatī movement of which, being a redactor of the canon itself, he must have been an important leader Hence if these inscriptions are taken to be connected with that Nāgahasti (who may be identical with either Māgahasti or Hastahasti) the later date (i e , AD 130-32) would be the correct date and incidentally it would fix the date of Nāgahasti as well Allowing for a reasonable interval between him and Āryamankhu before him, the latter would seem to belong to *c* AD 50, and similarly Gunadhara to about the beginning of the first century AD (or *c* AD 25) Thus within half a century (AD 25-75) the surviving Digambara canonical knowledge was finally reduced to writing

It is obvious that this redaction was not done on a sudden impulse There must have been a long, persistent and widespread agitation against the conservative orthodoxy of the custodians of canonical knowledge For some two centuries after Mahāvīra they felt no need of books, but when in later times they began to feel it the notion that it would be a sacrilege had taken deep roots The times were, however, changing If, on the one hand, the traditional canonical knowledge continued to decline, on the other, schismatic tendencies and disintegrating elements began to appear and gather force as time went on. At the same time, the increasing contacts with the outside world through the Greeks, the Parthians and the Scythians, and the presence as well as intermingling

of these materialistic races in Indian society, gave impetus to the art of writing. The representation of a Śaka as devotee of the Jaina Sarasvatī is not without significance Moreover, it was the age of Patañjali, Vālmīki, Sauti and Vātsyāyana who were producing valuable and voluminous works on Brahmanical religion, philosophy and sacred lore And just then in Ceylon attempts were being made to finally redact the Buddhist Pāli texts In the Jaina world, efforts at compromise between the schismatic sections were proving a failure and prominent persons both among the monks as well as the laity had long realised the imperative need of writing down their religious doctrines and traditions The Jainas of Mathura seem to have taken a leading part in sponsoring this movement But the origin of the Sarasvatī movement seems to go back at least up to the time of King Khāravela of Kalinga From ll 14-16 of his Hāthīgumphā inscription,[25] wherein he gives an account of his doings in the thirteenth year of his reign, we learn that in that year he caused to be built on the Kumārī Parvata in Suparvata-Vijaya Cakra (province) the Niṣidyās in memory of those Arhats who had attained liberation, so as to be worshipped by his loyal subjects For the shelter and abode of ascetics he caused caves to be excavated Near the Arhat Nisidyā he caused to be constructed a big and fine audience hall, in the centre of which a costly pillar (Māna-stambha) was erected All the Śramanas, the Jaina ascetics and monks, from far off places, were invited to assemble there And in that assembly, obviously at the instance of the king, efforts were made to restore and give a reading (उपादयति) of the surviving or declining (वोछिन) knowledge of the peace-giving twelve *Angas* (चोयठि अग सतिकं) which had emanated from the *Divyadhvani* (मुखियकल) of the Tīrthamkara And that great king put questions about (पसतो), listened to (सुनतो) and meditated upon (अनुभवतो) these scripture (कलानानि) [26] Opinions differ about the date of Khāravela, though there is a probability of his having lived in the second century BC Thus we may safely assign the beginnings of the Sarasvatī movement to the middle of the second century BC

For about a century the movement seemed to bear no fruit, but towards the end of the first century BC it gathered momentum and in the several decades just before and after the beginning of the Christian era there were a number of Jaina saint-scholars, both in the north and the south, who did their utmost to make the movement a success They acted as pioneers of Jaina literary activity, but were not identical with the redactors of the canon And though they did not consider themselves

authorised to undertake the redaction of the canonical works they did not wait for that redaction by others either and applied themselves to writing down valuable treatises and works on Jaina metaphysics, philosophy, ethics, traditional lore and so on, on the basis of that knowledge which had been handed down to them through the succession of eminent gurus, or which was available to them in the circle of scholarly monks of their times Their literary efforts made the redaction only a question of time, and it was speedily undertaken By the beginning of the second century AD the Sarasvatī movement was an accomplished fact The Śvetāmbara section, as it came to be called after the first century AD, still continued to resist the movement for some four centuries more, but finally it also had to concede to the demands of time.

The Sarasvatī movement, particularly the period (*c.* 50 BC-AD 50) when it was at its zenith, therefore, marks the actual beginning of the Jaina literary history and of the Jaina literary sources of Indian history.

REFERENCES

1 Preserved in the State Museum, Lucknow, cf *Anekānta*, VIII, I, p 61, Smith, *Jaina Stupa etc*, p 57, *JA*, XI, 2, pp 1-4
2 *EI*, X, App (Lüders), no 54 (J 24)
3 Published in *JSB*, I, 4, p 71
4 See R Narasimhachar, *Inscriptions at Śravana Belgola* (*EC*, II, Bangalore, 1923)
5 See Appendix A
6 For the full pontifical genealogy with sources see Appendix A
7 See *Anekānata*, III, 1 and 3, *JSB*, III, 4, pp 125-33
8 "वेणाकतटीपुरेमहामहिमा"—the place is probably identical with Mahimānagar, a village in the district of Satara A river of that name (Venyā or Vena) still passes through that district
9 According to the *Śrutāvatāra* of Indranandi, however, they had passed the rainy season in Kurīśvara-Pattana and thence they both went to Karhāṭa where they met Jinapālita (Pub in no 13, MDJG, Bombay, vs 1975)
10 The work has been published in several volumes by the J S U F Amraoti
11 See intro to *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, I, 1, ed Hiralal Jain et al
12 The work has been published with commentaries in several volumes by the Jain Samgha, Mathura See intro to vol I
13 Cf Hoernle's views on this *Paṭṭāvali* in the *Indian Antiquary*, XX, pp 341-61
14 *JSS*, I, no 4, p 157
15 See the *Śrutāvatāra* of Bibudha Śrīdhara, which forms a chapter of the author's *Pañcādhikāra* and has been published in *Siddhāntasārādisaṁgraha* (MDJG, Bombay, vs 1979)

16 See Indranandi, op cit and Hoernle, op cit, also *JSB*, I 4, p 69, IV 4, p 240, *IA*, XX, p 346 Some modern scholars have erred in assigning this subdivision of the Mūla Samgha into several Samghas, Ganas, etc, to the eighth or ninth century AD, for example, see B A Saletore's *MJ*, p 235

17 *EI*, X, App II, Southern Inscriptions, no 966

18 छत्तीसे वरिससये विक्कमरायमरणपत्तस्स।
सोरट्ठे वलहीए उप्पणो सेवडो सघो।।
—*Darśanasāra*, v 7
सषट्त्रिंशे शतेऽब्दानामृते विक्रमराजनि।
सौराष्ट्रे वल्लभीपुर्याम भूतत्कथ्यतेमया।।
—*Bhāvasamgraha*, v 188
धृतानि श्वेतवासांसि तद्दिनात्समजायत।
श्वेताम्बर मतख्याततोऽर्द्धफालकमताक्ष।।
मृते विक्रम भूपालेषट्त्रिंशदधिकेशते।
गतेऽब्दानामभूल्लोकेमतश्वेताम्बराभिधम।
—*Bhadrabāhucarita*, LIV 4-5
The last reference also hints that the forerunner of the Śvetāmbaras were the Ardhaphālakas (partially-clad ascetics) which is curiously corroborated by some Jaina sculptures (naked ascetics with a piece of cloth hanging from their arm in front) belonging to Śunga, Śaka and Kuṣāna times, discovered from Mathura and preserved in the museums at Mathura and Lucknow

19 छव्वास सयाइ नवुत्तराइतइया सिद्धिंगयस्सवीरस्स।
तो बोडिआण दिटिठ रहवीरपुरे समुप्पन्ना।।
—*Āvaśyaka Mūlabhāsya*, v 145

20 *JSB*, III, 4, p 132

21 पुणो ताओ चेयसुत्त गाथाओ आइरिय परपराए आगच्छमाणाओ अज्जमखु णागहत्थीण पत्ताओ।
—*Jayadhavala*, I, Introduction, pp 46ff

22 See *Paṭṭāvali Samuccaya*, ed Darśana Vijaya Also Introduction to *Jayadhavala*, I

23 जो अज्जमखुसीसो अंतेवासी विणागहत्थिस्स।
—*Jayadhavala*, I, Introduction, p 46

24 *EI*, X, App, no 53 (Lüders)

25 *JBORS*, III, pp 425-72

26 We have followed the accepted reading and generally the accepted interpretation except in the last portion (line 16)
"वोछिनं (व्युच्छिन्न) च चोयठि (चौ+अठि=१२) अग सँतिक (शान्तिकं) तुरिय (त्वर्यं) उपादयति (उपाध्यति)।"
For Khāravela's convening a Jaina religious conference for the restoration of scriptures, see also *JBORS*, XIII, pts 3-4, pp 233-35, 244

Chapter 7

The Pioneers and Early Authors

Kundakunda is the most celebrated name in the literary history of Jainism He was not only the most zealous pioneer of the Sarasvatī movement, but was also perhaps the earliest and the greatest Jaina author of that age Even his name has an auspicious significance.[1] He has been regarded as the foremost leader of the Mūla Samgha[2] and his own lineage (i e , Kundakundānvaya) with its many subsequent branches and sub-branches spread far and wide To trace their spiritual lineage from Kundakunda has been looked upon as a proud privilege by Jaina monks of the Digambara section, as many as three major Saṁghas being known to have this Anvaya [3] He is also reputed to have established the superiority of Jaina scriptures and to have made them popular all over the Bharata-kṣetra [4] Many later authors are greatly indebted to him and some of his works have proved to be a milch-cow for later commentators for quotations Most of his utterances are above sectarianism, and his *Samayasāra* in particular is studied with devotion by the Digambaras, the Śvatāmbaras and the Sthānakavāsīs alike and even by some non-Jainas

In later works and inscriptions he is mentioned by several names The epigraphic records generally give his name as Koṇḍa-Kunda, Kunda-kunda being the Sanskrit form of the same Devasena (AD 933) and Jayasena (*c* AD 1150) refer to him as Padmanandi [5] Several inscriptions and writers of the fourteenth century and onwards mention that he was also known as Vakragrīva, Grddhapiccha and Elācārya [6] Mahāmati[7] and Vaṭṭakera[8] have also been suggested as his other names He himself, however, gives little information, only at the end of one of his many works, viz., the *Bārasa-anuvekkhā,* he gives his name as Kundakunda, and at the end of another work, *Bodhapāhuḍa,* he tells us that it is the composition of the disciple of Bhadrabāhu [9]

Some traditional biographical accounts of this scholar are also available, but they are all of a rather legendary character and deserve little or no credit [10] Similarly, popular tradition attributes to him many miraculous powers about the truth of which nothing can be said.[11]

As regards his teachers, he himself says that he was the disciple of Bhadrabāhu His commentator Jayasena (AD 1150) informs that the name of Kundakunda's guru was Kumāranandi[12] while a *Paṭṭāvali* of the Nandi Saṁgha says he was the disciple of Jinacandra, the disciple of Māghanandi who was, in his turn, the disciple of Arhadbali [13] Of these three sources, the *Paṭṭāvali* is the latest in date and like other records of this nature seems to have been regularised in much later times As regards Kumāranandi, one guru of this name has been mentioned in an early Mathura inscription [14] As to which of the two Bhadrabāhus is meant by Kundakunda, there is a controversy,[15] but it appears that it must have been Bhadrabāhu II (37-14 BC)

As regards the question of his domicile, there is no doubt that he belonged to the south His very name, Konḍakunda appears to be Dravidian and looks like the name of a Kannada town or village [16] The personal use of such pen-names was regular in the Dravidian area, and several Jaina gurus are known to have borne such names, e g , Tumbalūrācārya from village Tumbalūra Later writers specifically mention that he belonged to the town of Konḍakunda,[17] and there still exists a village of this name about 4 or 5 miles from Guntakal railway station, which is associated with the life of Kundakunda. He is said to have performed penance in the nearby cave [18] A similar tradition connects him with the Nandi hill [19]

The date of Kundakunda has been a baffling problem A number of modern scholars have discussed it and it varies from the fourth century BC to the sixth century AD [20] Popular tradition, however, states that he succeeded to the pontifical seat in VS 49 (or 8 BC) at the age of 33, lived as a teacher for 52 years and passed away in AD 44 at the age of 85 [21] He seems to have been a contemporary of Bhadrabāhu II and Arhadbali The dates of these gurus are slightly different in different *Paṭṭāvalis* and the upper and lower limits come to be 53 BC and AD 66 respectively He certainly seems to have lived not only before the schism of AD 79 but also before the division of the Mūla Samgha into its Nandi, Sena, Simha and other branches, as also before the redaction of the canon, at least by Dharasena and Bhūtabali (*c* AD 75) In literary as well as epigraphical tradition he is invariably placed before Umāsvāmi and Samantabhadra Pūjyapāda (*c* AD 500) who is the well-known commentator of Umāsvāmi's work and who mentions and quotes from Samantabhadra, also quotes from Kundakunda The dates of prominent Jaina gurus and authors who came after Kundakunda make it almost a certainty that he must have lived

prior to AD 50 Chakravarti assigns him to the first century AD and Upadhye also, after a thorough discussion of the different views and available material, arrives at about the same date. The Prākṛta dialect used by Kundakunda in his works also corroborates this view The Mathura inscription referred to above, which mentions Kumāranandi whom tradition associates with Kundakunda, is dated in the year 87 The figure is a bit doubtful and might be 67, and as there is nothing in the inscription to connect it with the Kuṣāna period it might well have been dated in the ESE of 66 BC, which would place Kumāranandi about the beginning of the Christian era. R G Bhandarkar describes Kundakunda as one of the earliest Digambara authors whose works are referred to by subsequent writers,[22] and Peterson styles him as a teacher of great antiquity and renown [23] In fact, Kundakunda refers to no previous author or work obviously because there were none He leaves no boubt as to his place in relation to the Jaina canon and always refers to it in general terms The traditional aspect of his work is clear from the fact that his works have some verses common with some texts of the Śvetāmbara canon, being common property in early days, they have been preserved by both the sections independently [24] All this shows that he may safely be assigned to the early part of the first century AD or, to be exact, to 8 BC-AD 44

Kundakunda is reputed to have written 84 *Pāhuḍas* or big and small tracts in Prākṛta, mainly based on whatever traditional textual knowledge he had inherited from early teachers His works contain allusions to non-Jaina matters also Sometimes he makes allusion to persons who lived in the past and they might be historical [25]

The most well-known and available works of Kundakunda are—

1 *Samayasāra*

2 *Pravacanasāra*

3 *Pañcāstikāyasāra*

These three works together are also known as *Prābhrtatraya* or *Sāratraya* on the analogy of the *Prasthānatraya* of the Vedāntists and are as much sacred and authoritative for the Jainas

4 *Niyamasāra*

5 *Rayanasāra*

6 *Asta-pāhuda*, a collection of Kundakunda's eight works Some of these *Pāhudas* are found to contain useful bits of historical information Some more *Pāhudas* are also known to have been discovered [26]

7 *Bārasa-anuvekkhā*

8 *Daśabhakti*, also contains many Jaina traditions

9 *Mūlācāra*, one of the earliest and most authentic texts in Prākṛta on the theory and practice of Jaina asceticism It was till lately regarded as the work of some Vaṭṭakera, but recently some new evidence has shown that the latter was probably none else than Kundakunda himself [27]

10 *Kural* or *Tirukkural*, the most popular Tamil classic, also known as the *Tamil Veda* and highly admired all over the world, is also attributed by tradition to Kundakunda, his another name being Elācārya It is said that after composing it he gave the work to his disciple Tiruvalluvar who introduced it to the Saṅgama at Madura [28] It appears that the Sarasvatī movement also marked the beginnings of Tamil literature and it is very likely that the Jaina ascetic scholars of the south took a leading part in the literary activity of the early Tamil Sangama The authorship of *Tolkappiyam*, the earliest Tamil grammar which seems to have preceded even the *Kural*, is also attributed to a Jaina [29] No wonder that Kundakunda who was the foremost leader of the south Indian Jaina congregation, a great author and a Dravidian by birth, was associated with the early literary activity in Tamil also

11 *Parikarma*, a commentary on a part of the redacted canon, is also attributed to Kundakunda by one *Śrutāvatāra*,[30] but another source of equal standing attributes it not to him but to a disciple of his by name Kundakīrti [31]

Svāmi Kumāra is the author of *Kārttikeya-anuprekṣā* (489 verses), a fine and popular didactic work in Prākṛta [32] In this work allusions to many past personages cited as examples of noble character or of ideal deeds are found, which are also repeated by other early writers and which were later on developed into regular stories in the *Kathākośas* [33] There is, however, a controversy as regards the name of the author Some scholars, misled by the statements of his only available commentator Śubhacandra (AD 1556), came to believe that his name was Kārttikeya [34] But the author himself specifically mentions his name as Kumāra and nowhere as Kārttikeya [35] It is just possible that the Kumāranandi of the Mathura inscription (AD 1 or 21) referred to in the previous context was this Svāmi Kumāra [36] The work is admittedly of an ancient character and scholars are not generally inclined to assign it to much later than the first century AD [37] Some of its verses are common with those of Kundakunda and Śivārya, although he differs from them in the treatment of his subject It shows that all of them derived their knowledge from an older and common source Like other pioneers he also asserts that his

source was the traditional *Jināgama* [38]

Śivārya is the author of the *Ārādhanā*, also called *Mūlārādhanā* or *Bhagavatī-ārādhanā*, which is a very important and ancient Prākṛta text (2,166 verses) mainly dealing with the conduct of Jaina ascetics [39] It is believed to have been the ultimate source of the Jaina *Kathākośa* literature which is represented by the *Kathākośas* of Hariṣeṇa (AD 931), Prabhācandra (AD 980), Śrīcandra (AD 1066), Brahma Nemidatta, Rāmacandra, etc , and which forms one of the principal streams of Jaina historical tradition The language of the *Ārādhanā* is Śaurasenī Prākṛta but adulterated with a large percentage of Ardhamāgadhī words [40] A number of Prākṛta, Sanskrit and Kannada commentaries were written on this work,[41] which tried, in their respective ways, to develop the stories from the seeds thereof contained in the *Ārādhanā*,[42] and these stories were later on given a regular form by the *Kathākośas* The earliest available commentary is the *Vijayodayāṭīkā* in Sanskrit written by Aparājita Sūri, also known as Śrīvijaya (*c* AD 700), but it is not the first as it itself refers to older commentaries [43]

The only information about the author of the *Ārādhanā* is that which he himself supplies (in vv 2161-66) at the end of his work "Pāṇitalabhojī Śivārya, having mastered the *Mūlasūtras* at the feet of Ārya Jinanandi Gaṇi, Ārya Sarvagupta Gaṇi and Ārya Mitranandi Gaṇi wrote this *Ārādhanā* to the best of his ability,in accordance with older texts " The term "Pāṇitalabhojī" is distinctively a Digambara epithet used for their ascetics Some scholars, however, think he might have been a Yāpanīya [44] This sect, though more allied to the Digambara, acted as a sort of intermediary and reconciliatory section between the two sects, particularly in the early days of the schism

The date of Śivārya and his work has not yet been definitely fixed The following facts, however, point to the beginning of the Christian era

He mentions no scholar or guru belonging to the first century and onwards, but some of his verses are common with those in *Mūlācāra* and the Śvetāmbara canonical texts

Besides his three gurus he also mentions Bhadrabāhu who is said to have died peacefully in spite of great suffering (v 1544) It obviously indicates Bhadrabāhu II (*c* 37-14 BC) The way in which the incident is related seems to indicate an intimate knowledge of this fact on the part of the author [45]

Kundakunda in *Bhāvapāhuḍa* (v 53) mentions a saint Śivabhūti

The Śvetāmbara *Mūlabhāṣya* (v 148) and the *Kalpasūtra-sthavirāvalī*

inform that the original founder of the Boṭika Samgha (or the Digambara sect) was one Śivabhūti [46]

The Śrutāvatāra tradition speaks of four Ārātīya Yatis soon after Bhadrabāhu II, and one of them was Śivadatta Pūjyapāda (c AD 450) speaks of the Ārātīyas as on par with the Śrutakevalins,[47] whereas Aparājita (c AD 700), the commentator of the *Ārādhanā*, speaks of himself and of his gurus as "Ārātīya-Sūri Cūdāmani "

The prefix "Ārya" and the suffix "Gani" used by Śivārya with the names of his gurus are quite similar to those used in the Mathura inscriptions of the Śuṅga-Śaka-Kuṣāna period After the second or third century AD no such instances are available All things about the author point to his being a northerner

In the fourteenth chapter of his work he speaks of a peculiar form of funeral which shows that the dead body used to be left away in some open space in the forest to be disposed of by birds and beasts The Greeks of Alexander's time found this practice prevailing in a tribe named Oreitai which lived in south-western Sindh [48] The marked similarity between the terms "Ārātīya" and "Oreitai" may not be without significance

Some scholars are of opinion that, in view of the linguistic and textual evidence, the *Ārādhanā* should be assigned to the first century AD [49]

Hence, there is a possibility that Śivārya, the author of the *Mūlārādhanā*, is identical with saint Śivabhūti of the Śvetāmbara tradition He seems to have belonged to the north, probably Mathura, and to have resided for some time in western Sindh Like Kundakunda he seems to have been a zealous pioneer of the Sarasvatī movement, but, unlike the former, Śivārya seems to have belonged to that section of the Jaina monks of those days who tried their best to avert the impending schism He may thus be assigned to the first half of the first century AD [50]

Vimala Sūri, the author of the *Paumacariu*,[51] the first and earliest available Jaina version of the story of the *Rāmāyana*, composed this work, according to his own statement, in ME 530 (or AD 3) [52] The oldest available manuscript is a palm-leaf one dated VE 1198, (or AD 1141), written in Broach in the reign of Jaisimhadeva [53] The earliest known reference to the work and its author is found in the *Kuvalayamālā* of Udyotana Sūri (AD 778),[54] but the *Padmacarita* of Ravisena (AD 676) is almost a Sanskrit rendering of the present work, in parts literal and at places unnecessarily elaborate [55] Eminent Orientalists and Prākrtists like Peterson, Jacobi, Woolner, Keith, Winternitz, Leumann, and Dhruva, have taken notice of this work and they do not doubt its being prior to Raviṣena's work [56]

The other Jaina version of this story as found in the *Mahāpurāna* of Gunabhadra (ninth century) and which has been adopted by several later writers differs materially from that of *Paumacariu*, but it could never attain the same popularity Ravisena by his Sanskrit work and after him Svayambhu (eighth century) by his Apabhramśa *Rāmāyana* made Vimala's version the most popular one It is also nearer to Vālmīki's version In fact, he seems to have been inspired by the latter's example in writing down the story in accordance with the Jaina tradition, as he himself hints that he wrote his work in order to dispel the misconceptions created by untruthful accounts contained in some work which was then gaining popularity [57] Some scholars have found it an interesting linguistic study,[58] while others have tried to trace in it the influences of Greek and Roman contacts with ancient Indian culture [59] Besides representing perhaps an independent and, in many respects, a different stream of tradition relating to the times of Rāma and Rāvana, it also as an epic poem and a narrative throws useful light on the condition of society in the early centuries of the Christian era

Some scholars, however, have raised doubts as regards the date of this work and have variously placed it in the third, fourth or fifth and even the sixth century AD [60] But scholars like Leumann, Winternitz and N R Premi—see no reason why the date given by the author himself should not be believed [61]

There has also been some controversy on the point of the author's sect Both the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras are equally able to find such material in the work which corresponds to their particular beliefs and traditions as against those of the other sect It evidently shows that the author must have lived before the final separation and formation of these sects He himself leaves no doubt as to the fact that there existed no previous work on the subject and that his sources were the traditions contained in the *Nāmāvalīs* which had been handed down to him through a succession of gurus [62] He also informs us that he was the disciple of Vijayācārya who belonged to the Nāila family and was the disciple of Rāhū [63] In the *Pattāvalis*, some other gurus belonging to the second or third century are said to have belonged to the same family of ascetics [64] Lastly, in the *Puṣpikā* at the end of the work the author is also styled as a Pūrvadhara, which means that he belonged to the times when the traditional canon by word of mouth still survived All this points to the conclusion that the present author and his work could not belong to much

later than the first century AD, and that very probably the date given by himself is correct

Umāsvāmin or **Umāsvāti** is another great pioneer of early times He is held in high esteem both by the Digambaras as well as the Śvetāmbaras If the former describe him as a "Śrutakevalideśīya,"[65] the latter call him a "Pūrvavit" and "Vācaka,"[66] both meaning practically the same thing that this sage was one of those gurus of the pre-redaction days who were endowed with the rare privilege of having the direct knowledge of the traditional canon His *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra* (also called the *Moksaśāstra*) occupies in Jainism the same place as does the *Visuddhimagga* in Buddhism and is regarded as the most generally authoritative text outside the actual canon [67] It is the first known Jaina work in Sanskrit and contains some 357 pithy *sūtras* divided into 10 chapters [68] A large number of commentaries by eminent scholars of both the sects have been written on this work [69] The earliest available Digambara commentary is the *Sarvārthasiddhi* of Pūjyapāda (*c* AD 450) and the Śvetāmbara one is that of Siddhasenagani (eighth century) The Śvetāmbaras, however, attribute a *Bhāsya* to the original author himself [70] But no evidence of the existence of such a *Bhāsya* prior to eighth century AD has yet been discovered May be, as C D Chatterjee remarks, "It is another glaring instance of our credulousness which has given the credit of writing commentary on one's own work to more than one author, such as Kauṭilya, Dhanañjaya, Mahānāma, etc If we ascribe the original commentary on the *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra* to its author Umāsvāmin disregarding the vital objections of the Digambaras, we shall be in no way creating precedent through it for the practice has been already well established by us "[71] In fact, the author scrupulously avoided the points disputed by the two sects and presented his work in the form acceptable by both, probably because he himself belonged to neither and lived before the finalisation of the schism He appears to be one of those early gurus who tried to bring about a reconciliation and avert the separation

Some traditional stories and miracles about this scholar are also current, but they are of a legendary character and not worthy of reliance [72] The Śvetāmbaras have several different traditions relating to the name, *gotra*, *gana*, gurus, date, etc , of this author and place him, on the one hand, as early as the third century BC and, on the other, as late as the fourth century AD They also attribute to him the authorship of some 500 other works of which only a small Sanskrit work named *Praśamaratiprakarana* is said to exist today [73]

The Digambara tradition, however, associates him with the Nandi Samgha of Kundakundānvaya The *Paṭṭāvali* of that Saṁgha informs that he succeeded Kundakunda himself in AD 44 [74] In literature as well as inscriptions, he is invariably mentioned just after Kundakunda and before Samantabhadra Sometimes he is described as a disciple of and sometimes as born in or belonging to the line of Kundakunda [75] The influence of Kundakunda's works and of the redacted canonical texts has been traced in his *Tattvārtha* [76] A verse usually found at the end of his work and also quoted therefrom in several inscriptions mentions "Gṛddhapiccha" as a soubriquet of Umāsvāmin [77] A tradition attributes the fabulous *Gandhahasti-Mahābhāṣya* commentary on the *Tattvārtha* to Samantabhadra (second century AD) [78] The earliest available commentaries on the *Tattvārtha* are all by Digambara scholars of repute, viz , Pūjyapāda (fifth century), Akalanka (seventh century) and Vidyānanda (eighth century)

Therefore, there remains little doubt that Umāsvāmin and his *Tattvārtha* belong to the latter half of the first or beginning of the second century AD A comparative study of Umāsvāmin's *Tattvārthasūtra* with the *Sūtras* of Kapila, Kanāda, Gautama, Patañjali, Jaimini, and Kātyāyana should prove interesting as well as useful

Yativṛṣabha is perhaps the most important of these early authors from a strictly historical point of view He is known to have been the author of three important works—the *Cūrnīsūtra* (6,000 in number) on the *Kasāyapāhuda* of Gunadhara,[79] the *Karanasūtras* (2,000 verses) containing mathematical formulae,[80] and the *Tiloyapannati*, an early Prākrta text on the subject of cosmology [81] The last named work is divided into nine major chapters and is said to contain 8,000 verses [82] Major portion of it is in *gāthās* and the rest in prose Although it mainly deals with the nature, shape, size, divisions and subdivisions of the universe, it also incidentally gives much information on Jaina doctrine, Purānic traditions about the Tīrthamkaras and other heroes and about ancient geography and on political history of ancient India such as the dynastic chronology, commencement of the Śakas' rule and their eras, and so on At the same time, the work is highly valuable for a study of the development of the science of mathematics in ancient times Several scholars have in recent times made this work a topic of hot discussion and controversy, particularly in regard to the author's date and his sequence in relation to other early gurus

A close examination of these discussions and of the agreements and

disagreements of these scholars together with a perusal of the work itself and of other pieces of evidence relevant thereto, brings out the following facts that the original author of the *Tiloyapannatisutta* was certainly Yativṛṣabha, that in its present form the work bears obvious traces of subsequent rehandling and must be a later recension of the original work, and that in its present form the work is not older than the seventh nor later than the eighth century AD How much of it corresponds to the original text and how many recensions or transformations it had undergone, if any, prior to the eighth century AD, cannot be said with certainty

Scholars like Premi,[83] Mukhtar[84] and Upadhye,[85] with slight differences on certain points, generally seem to think the present version to be the original one and to assign it and its author to the end of the fifth century AD Phool Chandra Shastri, however, after a comparative examination of the existing text with some other works, has shown that it must be a later compilation made probably by Jinasena (AD 837) on the basis of the original work [86]

Apart from the fact that portions of this work closely resemble or seem to follow the corresponding portions in Vīrasena's *Dhavala* and that even some verses from a work of Akalanka (seventh century) seem to have been quoted or adopted in it, the mathematical portions of the work also support the later recension theory It is highly improbable that a reputed mathematician like this author could give extremely undeveloped and rough formulae along with highly developed ones and be guilty of such flagrant inconsistency in a subject like mathematics [87]

The internal evidence of the work itself, particularly as regards its historical portion which has not been examined by the above-mentioned scholars, corroborates this view and at the same time disproves the theory that Yativṛṣabha lived in the fifth century AD In chapter IV of the work the author after stating (in v 1474) that 3 years and 8½ months after Mahāvīra's *nirvāna* the fifth cyclic era commenced, gives (in vv 1476-95) the succession of Jaina gurus after Mahāvīra—up to ME 683, indicating side by side the verbal transmission and gradual decline of the direct canonical tradition which continued only up to the end of that period In v 1494 he states that after a lapse of 461 years from Mahāvīra's death here came the Śaka king, associated with the Śaka era In the next three verses he goes on to give alternative opinions as regards this interval, the first two of these being apparently fantastic but the third coinciding with AD 78 In v 1501, he again refers to the original interval

of 461 years which obviously seems to be the one believed in by the original author himself In the same context (v 1503) he informs that the dynasty of the Śaka king who came in ME 461 lasted for 242 years (i e , up to AD 176) The original information seems to have ended here.

But the work goes on to give other theories (using the word अहवा= or, another view) such as, (in v 1504) "then came the Guptas who ruled for 255 years followed by 42 years of Kalki, thus making up the millennium " Next in vv 1505-14, it gives the full dynastic list as still another theory The list ends in ME 1002 (or AD 475) [88]

Now if the author lived in AD 478, 483 or 500, as most of the scholars are inclined to think, he could not have committed the blunder of stating that the Gupta dynasty ended in AD 431, when at that time Kumāragupta I (AD 414-55) was on the throne, and he was succeeded by his warrior-son Skandagupta (AD 455-67) The dynasty is known to have lasted till about AD 550 Moreover, it began in AD 319-20 and not in AD 200 or 176, as some verses of the work would make out The total period of 231 or even 255 years for the Guptas is, however, approximately correct The Śakas had certainly commenced their rule in ME 461 (or 66 BC) and were in existence till AD 176, but the Castanas are definitely known to have commenced not in 42 BC but about AD 78 At the same time the end of their 242 years exactly coincides with the beginning of the Guptas in AD 320 A writer of the late fifth or early sixth century might have been wrong about the names or dates belonging to the times prior to the beginning of the Christian era, but he could not have committed such obvious blunders about contemporary history

It is, therefore, quite evident that excepting vv 1474-96 and 1499-1503, the rest of the verses of chap IV mentioned above seem to be the creations of the person or persons responsible for later recensions of the work, who tried to bring it uptodate, at least as regards the Kalki tradition And it must have been done sufficiently long after AD 500 Only those first verses should be ascribed to Yativṛṣabha, and in them he gives us information only up to ME 683 or 703 (i e , AD 156 or 176), AD 176 thus comes out to be the upper limit for the date of the original work and its author

There is no doubt as regards the fact that Yativṛṣabha is held in high esteem and is considered a very ancient scholar by the writers of seventh century onwards [89] As we have seen, his predecessors Āryamankhu and Nāgahasti are equally owned and respected in the tradition of both the sects Āryamaṅkhu has been assigned to the first century AD while

Nāgahasti has been proved to have belonged to *c* AD 100-150 And Yativṛṣabha has been described as *antevāsī* (associate, junior colleague or immediate disciple) of Nāgahasti It may also be noted that after Yativṛṣabha's *Cūrṇis* on the *Kaṣāyapāhuda* several other commentaries were written on that text prior to Vīrasena's times Hence Yativṛṣabha, one of the very last champions of the Sarasvatī movement, would seem to belong to *c* AD 150-80

As regards the present version of the *Tiloyapannati*, it appears that the subject being a terse, uninteresting and unpopular one, the original manuscript went out of use Sarvanandi, the author of *Lokavibhāga* (AD 458) or some one else soon after him mishandled it Vīrasena (AD 710-90), who hunted far and wide for all the ancient texts, and because this one was very much relevant to his purpose, got hold of that very mutilated, mishandled and partially interpolated manuscript He might have reconstructed it as best as he could for his personal use, might have tried to restore the lost portions, correct or amend the vague or ambiguous ones and here and there add his own notes too When sometime after his death, some disciple of his or some other person saw this rare annotated MS in Vīrasena's library, he copied it in the form of a regular MS of Yativrsabha's work, incorporating all the notes etc in its body This was utilised by Nemicandra (AD 973) and after him by other writers without doubting its genuineness And this has come down to us in the form of Yativrsabha's *Tiloyapannati* Nevertheless, its value as an important source of the ancient history of India is considerable

REFERENCES

1 For example the popular Jaina benedictory verse runs as
मगलम् भगवान वीरो, मगलम् गौतमोगणी।
मगलम् कुन्दकुन्दाद्या , जैनधर्मोस्तु मगलम्।।

2 श्रीमतो वर्धमानस्य वर्धमानस्य शासने।
श्री कौन्डकुन्दनामाभूँ मूलसघाग्रणीगणी।।
—*EC*, II, no 69

3 *EC*, II, nos 64, 66, 69 117, 127, 140, 254, 258, VIII, nos 35, 36, 37ff

4 वन्द्यो विभुर्भुविन कैरिहकौण्डकुन्द कुन्दप्रभा-प्रणयि-कीर्त्ति-विभूषिताश ।
यश्चारु चारणकराम्बुज चञ्चरीकश्चक्रे श्रुतस्य भरतेप्रयत प्रतिष्ठाम्।।
—Śravana Belgola Inscription, no 54

5 Vide, A N Upadhye's Introduction to *Pravacanasāra*, Bombay, 1935, p 2

6 Ibid , pp 2-4

7 A Guerinot, *Rapertoire d'Epigraphie Jaina*, no 585 But the term meaning "of great wisdom" seems to be an adjective rather than a proper name

8 J P Jain, "Some more Aliases of Kundakunda," *JA*, XII, 2, pp 19-23

9 सद्दवियारो हूओ भासा सुत्तेसु जं जिणेकहियं।
सो तहकहियं णायं सीसेण य भद्दबाहुस्स॥
—*Bodhapāhuḍa* in *Ṣaṭprābhṛtādisaṁgraha*, MDJG, no 17, Bombay

10 See Upadhye, op cit , p 6, Chakravarti, *Pañcāstikāya*, *SBJ*, Allahabad, 1920, Introduction, pp viif

11 Ibid , the commentaries on his works and other later works and inscriptions have popularised these legends

12 In the opening remarks of his commentary on *Pañcāstikāya*

13 Cf *JSB*, I 4, p 78

14 *EI*, X, App (Lüders), no 71

15 Cf Upadhye, op cit , pp 16-17, and *PJVS*, Sarsawa, 1950, Introduction, p 14

16 F W Thomas's Introduction, p 15 to *Pravacanasāra*, translated by B Faddegan, Cambridge, 1935

17 For example, his commentator Bālacandra, AD 1176, and Indranandi in his *Śrutāvatāra* (tenth century) Also see *JSB*, XX 3, p 16, ibid , XIX 2

18 Upadhye, op cit

19 See Rice, *EC*, X, Introduction, pp 9-10, also Saletore, *MJ*, p 256

20 F W Thomas, op cit , p 14, K B Pathak, *IA*, XIV, pp 15ff , Upadhye, op cit , N R Premi, *Jaina Jagata*, VIII 4, J K Mukhtar, *Svāmī Samantabhadra*, pp 158ff , Gajadhara Lal, *Samayasāra*, Banaras, 1914, Introduction, Chakravarti, op cit

21 Peterson's Report for 1883-84, II, pp 163-66, Hoernle, *IA*, XX, pp 341-61

22 Bhandarkar's Report for 1883-84, p 430

23 Peterson's Report for 1883-84, p 80

24 Vide, Upadhye's Introduction, op cit

25 Ibid

26 The *Ṣaṭprābhṛtādisaṁgraha*, MDJG, Bombay is a collection of ten *Pāhuḍas*

27 Cf *JA*, XII, 2, pp 19-23

28 Vide, Upadhye, op cit , pp 20-21, Chakravarti, op cit , and his *Jaina Literature in Tamil*, Arrah, 1941, pp 14-19, also see *IA*, XII, p 20

29 *Jaina Literature in Tamil*, pp 10-12

30 i e , of Indranandi

31 i e , of Bibudha Śrīdhara, and it seems to be nearer the truth

32 See *Cat Mss in C P and Berar* (Hiralal), p xiv, Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, II, p 577 The work has also been edited and published by Pannalal Bakliwala, Bombay

33 viz , Story of Kārttikeya Muni in Hariṣena's *Kathākośa*, Bombay, 1943

34 "कार्त्तिकेयानुप्रेक्षाष्टीका वक्ष्येशुभश्रिये, अह श्री कार्त्तिकेय साधु· संस्तुवे।"
MS dated AD 1749, Delhi, Naya Mandir It may be because Kārttikeya and Kumāra are often used as synonyms

35. जिणवयणभावणट्ठ सामिकुमारेण परम सद्धाए।
रइया अणुपेक्खाओ चंचल मणरुंभणट्ठ च।। ४८७।।
and तिहुयण पहाण सामिकुमार कालेवित विय तवयरण , etc
36 *EI*, X, App, no 71 Moreover, no other guru of that name is known to have existed in or about those times
37 *PJVS*, Hindi Introduction, p 26
38 "बारस अणुपेक्खाओ भणियाहु जिणागमाणुसारेण।" v 488
39 Published with Sanskrit commentaries and Hindi translation from Solapur 1935, also by N R Premi, Bombay
40 C D Chatterji, "Early Life of Chandragupta Maurya, from Jaina Sources," *B.C Law Volume*, pt I, pp 590-610, and A N Upadhye, *Bṛhat-kathākośa*, Bombay, 1943, Introduction, p 50
41 Premi's Introduction to Bombay edition, *Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa*, also *Anekānta*, I 3, p 145, *JSB*, V 3, pp 129-34, Upadhye, op cit
42 For example, Kannada *Vaḍḍārādhane*, see *Summaries* of All India Oriental Conference, Lucknow, 1951, p 188
43 *JSB*,V 3, pp 129-34
44 See *Anekānta*, III, pp 59ff , *JSI*, Bombay, 1942, pp 40-41
45 औमोदरिए घोराए भद्दबाहु असंकिलिट्ठमही।
घोराए विगिछाए पडिवण्णो उत्तम ठाण।। १५४४।।
46 Hiralal Jain identifies him with Śivārya, vide, "Śivabhūti and Śivārya," *Nagpur University Journal*, no 9
47 *Sarvārthasiddhi*, I 20
48 McCrindle, *Indika*, p 297
49 C D Chatterjee, op cit
50 J P Jain, "Śivārya the Author of Bhagavatī Ārādhanā," Hindi, *Premi Volume*, 1946, pp 425-28
51 Published by Jain Dharma Prasaraka Sabha, Bhavanagar, also chs I-IV, by V M Shah, Surat, 1936
52 पचेव वाससया दुसमाए तीसवरस सजुत्ता
वीरे सिद्धिमुवगए तओ निबद्ध इमचरिय।।
—Last chapter, v 103
53 Catalogue of Jaisalmer Bhanḍāra, p 17
54 जारिसय विमलको विमलको तारिस लहइ अत्थ।
अमयमइय व सरस सरस चियपाइय जस्स।। ३६।।
बुहयण सहस्स दइय हरिवसुप्पत्ति कारय पढ़म।
वंदामि वंदिय पिहु हरिवस चेव विमल पय।। ३८।।
The second verse shows that Vimala was also the author of the first *Harivamśa* Unfortunately this work has not yet been discovered
55 Published by MDJG, Bombay, VE 1985
56 See *Anekānta*, V 1-2, pp 38-48
57 अलियंपि सव्वमेयं उववत्ति विरुद्ध पच्चयगुणेहिं।
न य सद्दहंति पुरिसा हवंति ते पंडिया लोए।।
—*Paumacariu*, II 117

58 Vide, A M Ghatge's paper, AIOC, Lucknow, 1951, p 116
59 Cf A B Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*
60 For example, Jacobi assigns him to third century AD (*Encl of Rel & Ethics,* VII, p 437, see also his article in *Mod Rev*, Dec 1914, p 575) and K B Dhruva, to sixth century AD (*Introduction to Prākṛta*)
61 See Winternitz's *A History of Indian Literature,* II, N R Premi's article in *Anekānta,* V 1-2, pp 38-48, and *Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa,* sec. ed , p 91, V M Shah's Introduction to *Paumacariu*
62 णामावलि निबद्ध आयरिय परपरागय सव्व।
वोच्छामि पउमचरिय अहाणु पुव्विसमासेण।। (I 8)
and एय वीरजिणेण रामचरिय विलेण सुत्तसहियं गाहानिबद्ध कय , etc
63 राहु नामायरिओ स समय परसमय गहिय सब्भाओ।
विजओय तस्स सीसो नाइलकुल वसनंदियरो।। (I 117)
64 See the *Nandisūtra Pattāvali* in *Paṭṭāvali Samuccaya*
65 तत्त्वार्थसूत्र कर्त्तारमुमास्वाति मुनीश्वरम्।।
श्रुतकेवलिदेशीय वन्देऽह गुणमन्दिरम्।।
—*EC,* II, no 46
66 See *Tattvārthasūtra,* ed Pt Sukhlal, Banaras, 1952, Introduction, p 17n, also *Anekānta,* V 5, p 180
67 The work has been translated into different languages and more than two dozen modern editions are available More important ones are J L Jaini's English translation (*SBJ,* Lucknow), Pt Sukhlal's Hindi edn , also his Gujarati edn , Pt Kailash Chandra's Hindi edn , Banaras, 1953
68 Hence it is also called the *Daśādhyāyī*
69 Perhaps no other Jaina text has so many commentaries written on it
70 Sukhlal's edn , Introduction, p 20, also see *Bibliotheca Indica,* 1903-5
71 *B C Law, Volume*, pt I, n 41, *Anekānta,* IX 5, p 211
72 They are generally based on very late epigraphic or literary traditions
73 See Introduction to Sukhlal's edn
74 *JSB,* I 4, p 78
75 Śravana Belgola Inscriptions (Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, *EC,* II), nos 255, 285, 323, 363, 388, 596, 625
76 See *JSB*, XI 2, *Anekānta,* IV 1, 11-12, V 1-2
77 तत्त्वार्थशास्त्रकर्त्तार गृध्रपिच्छोपलक्षितम्।
वन्दे गणीन्द्र सजातमुमास्वामी मुनीश्वरम्।।
—*Tattvārtha-praśasti*, v 1, *EC,* II, Śravana Belgola Inscriptions, 64, 127, 258
78 J K Mukhtar, *Svāmi Samantabhadra,* MDJG, Bombay, VE 1985, pp 214-20
79 See *Jayadhavala,* I, Introduction Also *Varnī Volume,* Sagar, 1949, p 326, n 1
80 Ibid , It has been alluded to in *Tiloyapannati* itself
81 MS is preserved in the CJOL, Arrah It has recently been published from Solapur, in two vols , ed by A N Upadhye and Hiralal

82 चूण्णिसरूवं अत्थ करणसरूव पमाण होदि किं (?) जत,
अट्ठ सहस्स पमाणं तिलोयपण्णत्ति णामाए।
—*Tiloyapannati*, IX 79
83 *JSI*, Bombay, 1956, p 64 He fixes the date at AD 478
84 *Varni Volume*, Sagar, 1949, p 331 He fixes it at AD 483
85 Introduction to Solapur edition of *Tiloyapannati*
86 *JSB*, XI 1, pp 65-82
87 Ibid , XX 2, p 108
88 See Appendix A
89 For example,
जो अज्जमंखु सीसो अंतेवासी विणागहत्थिस्स।
सो वित्ति सुत्त कत्ता जइवसहो मे वरमदेउ।।
—*Jayadhavala*
Also see Introduction to *Dhavala*, I 1 i and *Jayadhavala*, I Virasena when making use of this work generally uses such expressions as तिलोयपण्णत्ति सुत्तणुसारि , etc

CHAPTER 8

The Great Masters

SVĀMI SAMANTABHADRA is one of the greatest masters of Jaina literature. According to the editors of the old *Bombay Gazetteer,* "Samantabhadra's appearance in south India marks an epoch not only in the annals of Digambara tradition but also in the history of Sanskrit literature."[1] And if he has been considered as the first of the great Jainas who in some way or the other added to Kannada literature,[2] he has also been regarded as one of those prominent Jaina gurus of early times who were responsible for the diffusion of Jainism in the Tamil country.[3] It is said, "he was a brilliant disputant and a great preacher of the Jaina religion throughout India. It was the custom in those days, as alluded to by Fa-hien (AD 400) and Hiuen Tsang (AD 630), for a drum to be fixed in a public place in the city and any learned man, wishing to propagate a doctrine or prove his erudition and skill in debate, would strike it by way of challenge of disputation. Samantabhadra made full use of this custom and powerfully maintained the Jaina doctrine of Syādvāda."[4] He is the first writer to give a most interesting as well as authoritative exposition of the Syādvāda doctrine,[5] and has also been styled as the first composer of devotional prayers (*Ādya Stutikāra*).[6] A number of later writers and epigraphic records as also the traditional accounts of this great master's life and activities fully attest to the opinions referred to above. In fact, as Muni Jinavijaya has remarked, hardly any other Ācārya has ever won such high encomium.[7] Many a later Jaina guru and author adopted his name.[8]

Unfortunately, like other early authors Samantabhadra gives but little information about himself. Whatever is known about him has been gleaned indirectly from his works, from the remarks of his commentators and admirers in later literature, from several inscriptions from the eleventh to fifteenth centuries AD, from the account of his life given in the *Kathākośas* and from still later works like the *Rājāvalīkathe*. On the question of his date, too, there has been much controversy and it ranges, according to different scholars, from the second to the seventh centuries AD.

From an examination of the available material and a study of the life

and work of this master in the background of the history of south India in the early centuries the following conclusions may be safely drawn [9] This Samantabhadra was the first and earliest guru of that name and was styled as Svāmi [10] He was one of the chief pontiffs of the Digambara Mūla Saṃgha,[11] and probably associated himself with no particular branch of that Saṃgha

He came after Balākapiccha, the successor of Umāsvāmin, and preceded Simhanandi after whom came Kavi Parameśvara followed by Devanandi Pūjyapāda (*c* AD 464-524) [12] That Samantabhadra lived prior to Pūjyapāda is also proved by the latter's own evidence [13]

The Simhanandi mentioned above was none other than the Jaina guru who helped in the foundation of the "Gangavāḍī 996" kingdom of the Western Gangas of Mysore *c* AD 188-89 [14]

His first known commentator is Akalaṅka (*c* AD 625-75) followed by Vidyānandi and others [15]

Samantabhadra was a Tamil and not a Kannadiga as the *Rājāvalikathe* (AD 1834) would make him out to be This work itself affirms the saint's close association with Kāñcī [16] The *Kathākośas* (eleventh to fifteenth centuries) make him describe himself as काञ्च्यां नग्नाटकोऽहम् (I am the naked ascetic of Kāñcī) [17] And he has been regarded as one of the earliest gurus of the Dramila Saṃgha [18]

Besides Kāñcī, he was also closely associated with the rulers of Karahāta (modern Karahada), the ancient and probably the first capital of the Kadambas of Banavāsī [19]

Śivakoṭi, whom tradition uniformly makes the royal disciple of Samantabhadra and who is said to have renounced the world along with his brother Śivāyana and entered the order at the advice of the guru and to have written a commentary styled *Ratnamala* on the *Tattvārtha* of Umāsvāmin, was probably none other than Śivaskanda Śrī, the second ruler of the Kadamba dynasty He is known to have had Jaina leanings Tradition says that he abdicated the throne in favour of his son Srī Kaṇṭha who was probably the Kadamba king who is said to have intervened between Śivaskanda Śrī and Śivaskanda Varman (early part of third century),[20] a predecessor of Mayūravarman Kadamba of the Chandravalli record assigned to AD 258 [21]

The original name of Samantabhadra was Sāntivarman who was probably a younger son of the Nāga chief who seems to be identical with Killikavarman Coda, the ruler of Uragapura (or Uraiyur—modern Trichinopoly) within the Phanimandala or the south Indian federation

of Nāga chiefs[22] Up to the time of the *Periplus* (AD 80) the Nāga kingdom of the southeastern coast was undivided, but by the time of Ptolemy (AD 150) it had already been divided into two parts[23] Moreover, by the end of the second century, this Phaṇimaṇḍala or Nāgamaṇḍala was no more in existence and as a result of the foundation of the Pallava kingdom of Kāñcī that name itself had been changed into Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam Hence the birth and childhood of Samantabhadra seem to belong to sometime between AD 80 and 140

Although he was admittedly a Digambara monk, Samantabhadra's greatness and antiquity was avowed even by eminent Śvetāmbara scholars like Siddhasena (seventh century), Haribhadra (eighth century), Hemacandra, Malayagiri and others[24]

Among non-Jaina scholars, Dharmakīrti and Kumārila Bhaṭṭa are known to have criticised the views of Samantabhadra, for which they were counter-attacked by Akalaṅka (seventh century)[25] Even Diṅnāga (AD 345-425) is found to bear visible traces of Samantabhadra's influence,[26] while Nāgārjuna, who is generally supposed to be a contemporary of Kaniṣka, seems to have been a senior contemporary of Samantabhadra as perhaps the former's *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā* inspired the latter in writing, his *Yuktyānuśāsana* and as Samantabhadra's criticism of Nāgārjuna's views is like that of a contemporary[27]

In the works of Samantabhadra the description of Jaina ascetics as purely "forest recluses" befits only to the time prior to about AD 300 Soon after, the practice of "Caityavāsa" (residing in establishments) began to get more and more popular[28]

The traditional date of Samantabhadra is Śaka 60 (or AD 138)[29] and as B A Saletore observes, "Credence may be given to the tradition that Samantabhadra lived in the second century when we examine the pontifical pedigrees as given in epigraphs from beginning of twelfth to fifteenth centuries It is not arbitrary to assume that Samantabhadra who, as related above, is always spoken of in inscriptions as having come almost soon after Balākapiccha, lived in the first quarter of the second century AD "[30]

In view of these facts, Svāmi Samantabhadra seems to have lived about AD 120-85

His known and available works, all in chaste Sanskrit, are

Āptamīmāṃsā or *Devāgamastotra*, *Yuktyānuśāsana*, *Svayambhustotra*, *Jinastutiśataka* or *Stutividyā*, and *Ratnakaraṇḍa-śrāvakācāra*

The last is the earliest available Jaina work laying down rules of conduct for the guidance of the laity His allusions to persons to whom tradition ascribes illustrious deeds have been developed into full stories by the commentators

Besides the above, several other works are also ascribed to him, but as they have not so far been discovered nothing can be said about them

Pādalipta, who may be placed early in third century AD, is perhaps the first Śvetāmbara author and is said to have written the *Nirvānakalikā* and the *Tarangavatīkathā,* none of which exists today He is said to have been a successor of Nāgahasti Tradition associates him with the rise of the Murundas who are described as having cordial relations with the Kusānas of Puruṣapura The flood and devastation of Pāṭaliputra, mentioned in the tradition, is said to have been corroborated by archaeological discoveries [31]

Mānadeva is reputed to have composed a *Śāntistava* for the restroration of peace and prosperity to the city of Taxila afflicted by the cruel onslaughts of the Turuṣkas (not Tukharians), which fact is also corroborated by archaeological discoveries [32] He may be assigned to third contury AD

Kavi Parameśvara seems to be the most important of early *Mahāpurāna*-writers His *Vāgārthasamgraha,* probably in Sanskrit prose and poetry mixed, appears to have formed the basis for almost all the later writers of Jaina Purānas Jinasena (AD 837), Gunabhadra (AD 898), Pampa (AD 941), Cāvundarāya (AD 978), Pampa II (AD 1100), Nayasena (AD 1112), Nemicandra (AD 1170), Aggala (AD 1189),Pārśva Pandita (AD 1205) and others have affirmed this fact Some of them have also quoted passages from his work He also finds mention in the Humcha inscription of AD 1077 [33] In literature as well as inscriptions he is invariably placed between Samantabhadra and Pūjyapāda, and would thus belong to *c* AD 400

Siddhasena Kṣapaṇaka is probably the same person who is mentioned under the name of "Kṣapanaka" as one of the celebrated Nine Gems of Vikramāditya's court [34] Traditions current in both the sects associate him with that king and with a miracle performed by that saint in the Mahākāla temple of Ujjayinī [35] Pūjyapāda[36] and after him a number of Digambara as well as Śvetāmbara writers mention his name with respect and call him a great poet He is the first Jaina scholar of the name

of Siddhasena and is probably the author of at least some of the *Dvātriṃśikās* (poems of 32 verses each) current under that author's name In style they are said to bear the influence of Kālidāsa [37] He may be assigned to *c* AD 425

Sarvanandi wrote his Prākṛta *Lokavibhāga* in SE 380 (or AD 458) at the village of Pātalika in the Pānarāṣṭra in the twenty-second regnal year of Simhavarman, the lord of Kāñcī The work is said to contain 1,563 *ślokas* The original is, however, not available, but a Sanskrit rendering of the same by Simhasūri (*c* twelfth century) exists Nevertheless, the historical value of the work is very great It is not only the first known example of the use of the Śaka era in literature but it has also greatly helped in reconstructing the Pallava chronology by fixing the initial date of Simhavarman's reign [38]

Devarddhigaṇi Kṣamāśramana was the great Śvetāmbara pontiff who convened a council of all the Śvetāmbara scholars at the city of Valabhī in Gujarat This council held in ME 980 (or AD 453) was the third great Jaina conference of the Śvetāmbara tradition, and it was at this council that the redaction of the entire canonical knowlege that had been preserved by the Śvetāmbara section was finally undertaken [39] As we have seen, the original canon is said to have had generally suffered severe losses during the thousand years after Mahāvīra's *nirvāna*. There were differences of opinion about the readings of the texts and some of them had several different versions each The council of Valabhī attempted to reconcile the different readings and versions, but did not meet with much success It seems Devarddhigani acted simply as an editor and he reduced to writing the scriptures which had come down to him by word of mouth [40] This long delayed and urgently felt redaction of the traditional knowledge preserved by the only other important section of the Jaina community opened a new era in the cultural progress of the country It gave an unprecedented impetus to the creation of a voluminous exegetical literature in the form of *Niryuktis, Cūrnis, Bhāṣyas, Vrttis,* and *Ṭīkās,* which is very valuable for the study of ancient historical traditions and cultural conditions But although traditions preserved in the canonical texts as redacted by Devarddhigani are pretty old and are parts of the texts themselves, and appear to reach as far back as the Mauryan times, there are references in them which go to show that the present canon is not the original one and that it must have undergone considerable modifications, corruptions, substitutions and interpolations, not only prior to the times of Devarddhigani but even after him Certain texts, in

whole or in parts, have become totally obsolete and cannot now be restored [41] Still, in spite of losses and corruptions the surviving texts of this branch of the Jaina canon as redacted by Devarddhigani in AD 453 are neither without interest nor of less value for the historian of ancient India

The texts said to have been thus redacted are—

> Eleven *Angas,* twelve *Upāngas* or secondary limbs, ten *Painnas* or scattered pieces, six *Chedasūtras,* two individual texts, and four *Mūlasūtras*

All these works, 45 in all, are in the Ardhamāgadhī or the Jaina form of Prākṛta [42]

Pūjyapāda Devanandi is after Samantabhadra the greatest of the early masters of Jaina literature A prominent religious head, a great yogi, a sublime mystic and a brilliant poet, Devanandi was also a reputed scholar, an eminent author and a master of several branches of learning He wrote his works in Sanskrit, both prose and verse, of a high quality His real name was Devanandi but he is generally known by his title "Pūjyapāda " In later times there came to be a number of other Pūjyapādas but this Devanandi Pūjyapāda is the first and most celebrated Jaina guru to bear that name [43]

He was in his times the chief pontiff of the Nandi or Deśīyagana, a branch of the Mūla Samgha of Kundakunda's line According to the *Pattāvalis* of that Samgha he was the tenth guru,the name of his predecessor being Yaśonandi and that of his successor, Jayanandi [44] The *Rājāvalikathe* of Devacandra (AD 1834) and the Kannada *Pūjyapādacarite* of Padmarāja and Candayya (*c* AD 1800) agree in making him out a Kannadiga born in a Brahmin family, the name of his father being Mādhava Bhaṭṭa and that of his mother, Śrīdevī [45] Many miraculous powers and marvellous feats are attributed to this saint-scholar and he has been held in high esteem by posterity

Pūjyapāda was probably the first Jaina guru to devote himself to the writing of valuable secular works besides religious ones That he was a great grammarian nobody seems to have had any doubts about[46] and the same may be said about his being a master of the science of medicine [47] Hence little wonder if he was patronised by kings and nobles In fact, there is ample evidence to prove that he was the religious preceptor, and probably a secular teacher also, of the great Ganga monarch Durvinīta Konguṇi of Talkad.[48]

The date of Durvinīta Gaṅga, however, has lately been a matter of controversy There are generally three sets of opinion on this question

Scholars like Lewis Rice, E P Rice, and Bühler placed Durvinīta, as also Pūjyapāda, in the latter half of the fifth century AD and had no doubt as to their *guru-śiṣya* relationship [49]

Those like R Narasimhachar, who fomerly supported the above theory, later on, on the basis of the alleged newly found evidence of the *Avantisundarī Kathāsāra*, shifted the date of Durvinīta by some 125 years forward, but seeing no reason to shift the date of Pūjyapāda they declared that the two had nothing to do with each other [50] Some other exponents of this later-date theory have tried to seek support from the inter-dynastic relations between the Gangas and the Cālukyas, Kadambas, Pallavas, Punnātas, etc , in Durvinīta's time They have ignored his association with Pūjyapāda [51]

Some still other advocates of the later-date theory, misled by the allusions to one Pūjyapāda in several Cālukyan records of the seventh and eighth centuries AD, found ground for shifting forward the date of Pūjyapāda also by about the same number of years and thus claimed to find fresh support for the new date of Durvinīta who, they see no reason to disbelieve, was the royal disciple of Pūjyapāda [52]

A close examination of the different views mentioned above and of the available evidence on the subject, it may, however, be concluded that Durvinīta must have ruled from *c* AD 482 to 522 and that he cannot be placed in the seventh century AD as suggested by the exponents of the later-date theory [53] He was the son and successor of Avinīta Kongini (AD 430-82) and a grandson of Tadangala Mādhava or Mādhavavarman III (*c* AD 400) of the Western Ganga dynasty of Talkad He was succeeded by Muskara (*c* AD 523) who was the grandfather of Bhūvikrama (*c* AD 609-70) Durvinīta was father-in-law of Cālukya Vijayāditya whose son Jayasimha Vallabha Visnuvardhana[54] was the founder of the Western Cālukya dynasty of Vātāpī and the grandfather of Pulakeśin I Durvinīta killed in battle Kaduvetti Trilocana (Caṇḍadanda or Nandivarman Pallava), the grandfather of Simhaviṣṇu (*c* AD 550-600). Durvinīta's grandmother was a daughter of Kākutsthavarma Kadamba (*c* AD 399) and a sister of Krsnavarma I (*c* AD 450) His father-in-law was Skanda Punnāta, the son of Bhujaga Punnāṭa whose father-in-law was Gaṅga Mādhava Simhavarman of the Perur line (fourth century) Durvinīta got Punnāṭa as dowry of his wife

As regards the evidence of the *Avantīsundarīkathā* and its *Sāra,*[55] it has already been refuted by Prof Keith [56] At least there is nothing in it which makes it possible to identify the Rājaputra Viṣnuvardhana, who is said to have been a friend of poet Bhāravi in their boyhood, with Kubja Visnuvardhana, the Eastern Cālukya king of Vengi He rather seems to have been identical with Jayasimha Viṣnuvardhana, the Cālukya king of Badāmi Ravikīrti in the Aihole inscription simply compares himself with Kālidāsa and Bhāravi[57] but it does not imply that they were his contemporaries Bhāravi's name is generally mentioned soon after Kālidāsa The above-mentioned *Kathā* states that the poet met Durvinīta in his wanderings and that the latter wrote a commentary on a portion of the poet's *Kirātārjunīya* Bhāravi must then have been nearing middle age He is also said to have passed his last days at the court of Simhavisnu Pallava (*c* AD 550-600) Moreover, Bhāravi was, according to the same *Kathāsāra,* the greatgrandfather of poet Dandin who seems to have been a senior contemporary of Bāna (*c* AD 608-48) Thus Bhāravi could not have lived much beyond (AD 465-555)

The dates of Bhāravi (AD 465-555) and Durvinīta (AD 482-522), and incidentally of Pūjyapāda, curiously confirm each other and they need not be brought forward There is no doubt that Durvinīta, like most other rulers of his dynasty, was an ardent Jaina[58] and there is evidence to prove that he was the royal patron and probably a devotee and a pupil of Pūjyapāda In fact, the latter appears to have been the head of a great centre of learning, probably the first of its kind, at or near Talkad, the capital of the Western Gangas in south Karnataka

There have also been differences of opinion as regards the date of this Pūjyapāda But besides the above-mentioned facts there are quite a number of other facts which help us to fix his date independently within closely approximate limits

Jaina tradition, both literary as well as inscriptional, invariably and unmistakably places Pūjyapāda in-between Samantabhadra (*c* AD 120-85) and Akalanka (*c* AD 625-75) Pūjyapāda himself refers to Samantabhadra in his *Jainendra* and his works like the *Sarvārthasiddhi* bear visible traces of Samantabhadra's influence On the other hand, Akalanka quotes from and refers to Pūjyapāda and his *Jainendra* for which he shows great respect and makes full use of his *Sarvārthasiddhi* in his own *Tattvārtharājavārttika* [59]

There must have been considerable intervals both between Samantabhadra and Pūjyapāda as also between Pūjyapāda and Akalaṅka

since several gurus and shcolars are known to have intervened in each case

In the *Jainendra* we find mention of a number of previous scholars such as Bhūtabali, Yaśobhadra, Prabhācandra, Siddhasena, Śrīdatta, and Samantabhadra, all of whom are real historical persons but none of whom is known to have lived after AD 450

Among non-Jaina scholars he has been found to have referred to certain verses of the Buddhist scholar Dinnāga (AD 345-425)[60] and to Īśvarakṛsna Vārsaganya, the author of *Sāmkhyakārikā* (VE 507—AD 450) [61]

The first mention of the Vrhaspati Samvatsara is found in the *Jainendra* and this very era appears in the Gupta and Kadamba grants dating from Śaka 379 to 450 (AD 457-528) [62]

Thus, although the *Pattāvalis* give Pūjyapāda Devanandi's date as VE 258-308 (AD 201-51),[63] the upper limit of his date cannot be taken back prior to AD 450 In order to fix the lower limit of his date, he is known to have definitely preceded Akalanka (*c.* AD 625-75) and Vāmana and Jayāditya (died in AD 660) in their *Kāśikāvrtti* refer to the *Jainendra* [64] Siddhasena Divākara, who is known to have preceded Akalaṅka, alludes to Pūjyapāda in his *Sanmati* [65] Similarly, Bhadrabāhu Niryuktikāra (*c* AD 550) appears to have lived after him [66] Gunanandi who was a grand-disciple of Pūjyapāda and was probably the author of the original *Jainendraprakriyā* lived before Akalanka [67] Lastly, according to Devasena's *Darśanasāra* (AD 933), Pūjyapāda's disciple Vajranandi founded the Dravida Samgha in Madura in VE 526 (AD 469) [68] But the *Pattāvalis* give an interval of fifty-eight years between Pūjyapāda and Vajranandi and place two other gurus in-between them, they assign fifty years to Pūjyapāda and twenty-two to Vajranandi This would take back Pūjyapāda to the later half of the fourth century AD But it appears that Devasena is mistaken The Dravida Samgha was certainly organised and established in the Pāṇḍyan country, and most probably by Vajranandi and his colleagues The figure of the date, i e , 526, also seems to be approximately correct But the era stated by Devasena as being the Vikrama Samvat appears to be worng It seems to have been the Śaka era which would give this date as SE 526 (AD 604) In fact, the era generally used in the south was the Śaka era, but Devasena himself being a northerner and used to the Vikrama era mentioned that era with all the dates he gave He seems to have forgotten to convert the years of the Śaka

era into those of the Vikrama era The assumption is confirmed by a verification of some other dates given by the same writer [69] Hence taking AD 604 as the date of the foundation of the Draviḍa Saṃgha by Vajranandi and allowing for the 22 years of his pontificate in the Nandī Saṃgha, the lower limit of Pūjyapāda's date comes to AD 524

Keeping in view Pūjyapāda's contemporaneity with Durvinīta Gaṅga whose father Avinīta Kongini is said to have himself appointed this scholarly monk as teacher of his son even before the latter's accession to the throne[70] and Pūjyapāda's fifty years pontificate indicating a long life, his date may safely be fixed as *c* AD 464-524, allowing for a moderate ten years period of monkhood before his accession to the pontifical seat The value of Pūjyapāda's date in fixing the dates of a number of Jaina and non-Jaina scholars and in reconstructing the chronology of the Gangas, incidentally also of the Cālukyas, Kadambas, Pallavas, Punnāṭas, etc , is obvious

The known works of this great master are—

Jainendra Vyākarana—a complete and authoritative work on Sanskrit grammar, classed among the first eight masterly treatises on the subject,[71]
Sarvārthasiddhi—the earliest available, authentic and learned commentary on the *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra* of Umāsvāmin,
Daśabhaktyādisamgraha— preserves valuable traditions, particularly about the life of Mahāvīra,
Samādhitantra, Istopadeśa, and *Sāntyāstaka*

Besides these Pūjyapāda is also known to have written the following which, however, have not yet been discovered—

Śabdāvatāranyāsa on the *sūtras* of Pānini,
A Vaidyaśāstra, probably of the name of *Kalyānakāraka* and dealing chiefly with *Śālākyatantra*,
Jainābhiṣeka, and *Chandaśāstra*

REFERENCES

1 *BG*, I, pt 2, p 406
2 *Karnātaka Kavicarite*, pt I, p 7
3 *MJ*, p 224, *SSIJ*, p 44
4 E P Rice, *A History of Canarese Literature*, Calcutta, 1921
5 Vide R S Ayengar, *SSIJ*, p 31, A S Altekar, *Rāṣtrakūṭas and Their Times* (hereafter cited as *RTT*), p 409

6 Vide, J K Mukhtar, *Svāmi Samantabhadra*, MDJG, Bombay, pp 16-61
7 Vide, his article in *JSS*, I, no. 1
8 As many as six have so far been discovered See *Ratnakaraṇḍa Śrāvakācāra*, MDJG, Bombay, Introduction, pp 5-8
9 For a fuller discussion see J P Jain's paper "Svāmi Samantabhadra-kā-Samaya" in *Varnī Volume*, Sagar, 1949, pp 380-94
10 Vide, *Svāmi Samantabhadra*, p 61
11 He has been described as श्री मूल संघ व्योम्नेन्दु by Hastimalla and Ayyapārya
12 *EC*, II 64, p 67, ibid , 67, p 25, also see *Kavicarite*, I, pp 6-7, Bhandarkar's Report for 1883-84, p 320, L Rice's Introduction to *Inscription at Śravana Belgola*
13 चतुष्टय समन्तभद्रस्य– *Jainendra*, 5 4 140, for his influence on Pūjyapāda's *Sarvārthasiddhi*, see *Anekānta*, V 10-11, p 345
14 Vide, K Rao's *Gaṅgas of Talkad*, Rice, *Mysore and Coorg in Inscriptions*, p 32, Ayyangar, *SSIJ*, p 109, Saletore, *MJ*, p 8n, *KHR*, II 1, p 27, *SI, Inscriptions*, II, p 387, *EC*, II & VII, *MAR*, for 1920, 21, 24, 25
15 On his *Āptamīmāṁsā* Akalanka wrote his *Aṣṭasatī* and Vidyānanda his *Aṣṭasahasrī* The latter also wrote a *ṭīkā* on his *Yuktyānuśāsana*
16 Vide, *Rājāvalīkathe* by Devacandra, AD 1834
17 Vide, the *Kathākośas* of Prabhācandra, eleventh century and Nemidatta, AD 1518
18 *EC*, V, Bl 17, p 51, V, Ak I, p 112
19 प्राप्तो ह करहाटक बहुभटं विद्योत्कट सकट।
वादार्थी विचराम्य ह नरपति शार्दुल विक्रीडितम्।।
These are the words he is said to have uttered in the court of the king of Karahāṭaka (probably modern Karahada, some 200 miles north of Banavāsī and situated to the south of river Bhīmā) That it was the earliest capital of the Kadambas is proved by their grants (vide, D C Sircar, *The Successors of the Satavahanas in the Lower Deccan*, p 274)
20 *EC*, VII, pp 251-2
21 Ibid ,VIII, p 262
22 इति फणि मडलालकारस्योरगपुराधिप सूनो श्री स्वामि समन्त भद्रमुने कृतौ आप्तमीमासायाम्।
—Found at the end of an ancient palm-leaf MS in the collection of Dourabali Jinadāsa of Śravana Belgola, also at the end of another palm-leaf MS preserved in the CJOL, Arrah Yet another MS of *Aṣṭasahasrī* is said to have at its end
इति फणि मडलालकारस्योरगपुराधिप सुनुना शांतिवर्मनामा श्री समन्तभद्रेण।
(Cf J P Faḍakule's Introduction to his Sanskrit *ṭīkā* and Marathi translation of *Svayambhustotra*) A verse of Samantabhadra's *Jinastuti* also contains the name of its author as Śāntiverma The Uragapur referred to is different from the one mentioned by Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvaṁśa* The latter was situated in the Pandyan country near Madura
23 Vide, Sircar, *The Successors of Satavahanas in the Lower Deccan*, pp 140, 146, 148ff , Ayengar and Srinivasachari, *History of India*, pp 292-95, *BG*, I-II, pp 318-19n

24. Vide, J K.Mukhtar, *Svāmi Samantabhadra*
25 Vide, Introduction to *NKC*, MDJG, Bombay
26 *Anekānta*, V.12, p. 383
27 Ibid , VII 1-2, p 10, for dates of Dinnāga and Nāgārjuna, vide, Introduction to *Tattvasaṁgraha*, pp 68 and 73
28 Vide, *Ratnakaraṇḍa-śrāvakācāra*, V 147, *JSB*, XIII 2, pp 119 ff
29. Bhandarkar's Report of 1883-84, p 320, L Rice, *Mysore and Coorg in Inscriptions*, p 203
30 *MJ*, pp 225-28
31 Introduction to *Prabhāvakacarita*, Gujarati edition by Kalyanavijaya, Bhavanagar, VE 1987, *Premī Volume*, 1946, pp 233-40 From the history of Cambodia also we learn that in the fourth century AD a Muruṇḍa king of Pāṭaliputra had received an embassy from the king of Funan (vide, B R Chatterji, *Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia*, Calcutta, 1928, Appendix)
32 Kalyanavijaya, op cit , *Premī Volume*, pp 241-44
33 स पूज्य कविभिर्लोके कवीना परमेश्वर ।
वागार्थसग्रह कृत्स्न पुराण य समगृहीत।।
—*Ādipurāna* of Jinasena
कवि परमेश्वर निगदिता गद्यकथामातृक पुरोश्चरित
—Colophon of *Uttarapurāna*
Also see *Karnātaka Kavicarite*, I, pp 1-7, Rice, *JRAS*, XV, pp 295-314, *JSB*, XIII 2, pp 85ff
34 धन्वतरि क्षपणकोऽमरसिंह शकुर्वेताल भट्टखर्पर कालिदास , etc
35 Vide, the Digambara *Paṭṭāvali* of Senagana, *JSB*, I 1, p 38, and the Śvetāmbara *Paṭṭāvali Sāroddhāra*, *Pattāvali Samuccaya*, p 150
36 "वेत्तेसिद्धसेनस्य"—*Jainendra*, 5 1 7
37 See Introduction to *Sanmatitarka*, Pt Sukhlal's edn , pp 97, 98, 170
38 वैश्वे स्थिते रविसुते वृषभे चजीवे, राजोत्तरेषु सितपक्षमुपेत्य चन्द्रे।
ग्रामे च पाटलिक नाम नि पाणराष्ट्रे, शास्त्र पुरालिखित वान्मुनि सर्वनंदि।
सवत्सरे तु द्वाविंशे काञ्चीश सिंहवर्मण , अशीत्यग्रेशकाब्दाना सिद्धमेतच्छतत्रये।
आचार्यावलिकागत विरचित तत्सिंहसूर्षिणा।
भाषाया परिवर्तनेन निपुणै सम्मानित साधुभि ।।
—Colophon in MS preserved in CJOL, Arrah Also see Ayengar's *History of the Tamils*, pp 364, 384, K S Ayengar, *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture*, Calcutta, 1923, p 203, *Journal of Indian History*, Oxford, II, 1922, pp 55-60, *EI*, XIV, 1917-18, pp 331-40, *JRAS*, 1915, pp 471-85, *MAR*, 1908-9, p 11
39 "श्री देवर्द्धिगणिक्षमाश्रमणेन श्रीवीराद् अशीत्यधिकनवशत (९८०)वर्षे जातेन, द्वादशवर्षीय दुर्भिक्षवशान बहुतर साधुव्यापत्तौ, बहुश्रुत विच्छित्तौ च जाताया भव्यलोकोपकाराय, श्रुतभक्त्ये, च श्री संघाग्रहात, मृतावशिष्ट तदाकालीन सर्वसाधून वल्लभ्यामाकार्य तन्मुखाद् विच्छिन्नावशिष्टान न्यूनाधिकान् त्रुटिताऽत्रुटितान् आगमालापकान्, अनुक्रमेण स्वमत्या सकलय्य पुस्तकारूढा. कृता., ततो मूलतो गणधरभाषितानामपि तत्संकलनान्तरे सर्वेषामपि आगमानो कर्त्ता श्री देवर्द्धिगणि क्षमा श्रमण एव

जात.।"

—*Samācārīśataka* of Samaya Sundara Another tradition gives this date as ME 993, or AD 466, vide, *Anekānta*, III 12, pp 681-82

40 Vide , J C Jain, "Jaina Canons, etc ," *JA*, XI.2 and XII 1
41 Ibid
42 For a detailed account of these *Āgamas*, see Weber's "Sacred Literature of the Jainas" (*IA*, XVIII-XXI), H R Kapadia's *The Canonical Literature of the Jainas*, Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, II, *SBE*, XII, Introduction
43 J P Jain, "Jaina Gurus of the Name of Pūjyapāda," *JA*, XVI 1-2, XVIII 1
44 *JSB*, I 4, p 78
45 Vide, R Narasimhachar, *Karnātaka Kavicarite*, pt II
46 Vide, R Narasimhachar, *Karnātaka Śabdānuśāsana*, Belvalkar, *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, Poona, 1915, pp 62-68, Kielhorn, *IA*, X, 1881, pp 75-79 Also see J P Jain, op cit
47 J P Jain, op cit , *EC*, II, 258, VIII, no 46
48 Cf *JA*, XVIII 1, pp 13-15
49 Ibid , also see *Coorg Inscriptions*, Introduction, p 3, *Mysore and Coorg in Inscriptions*, I, p 373, *Karnātaka Bhāṣābhūṣanam*, Introduction, p 12, E P Rice, *A History of Canarese, Literature*, p 25, *IA*, XV, p 355
50 *MAR*, 1924, p 70, 1928, p 28, also his Presidential Address at the eighth session of the AIOC His new date for Durvinīta is AD 605-60 For his earlier view see *Karnātaka Kavicarite*, pp 5-6
51 *Proceedings*, 12th session of AIOC, II, pp 534-41, Moraes, *Kadambakula*, pp 55-56, *Triveni*, I, pp 112-20, J Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p 107
52 Sircar, *The Successors of Satavahanas in the Lower Deccan*, p 300, K B Pathak, "Pūjyapāda and the Authorship of *Jainendra*," *IA*, XII, pp 19-21
53 J P Jain, "The Date of Durvinīta Ganga," *JA*, XVIII 2, pp 1-11
54 Cf S Srikantha Sastri, *Sources of Karnataka History*, I, Mysore, 1940, Introduction, p x
55 Discovered in two moth-eaten, damaged and quite old MSS of these works, by the Madras Government, Oriental MSS Library The *Kathā* purports to have been written by Dandin and the *Sāra* by some unknown author It is the latter which in its first chapter contains an account of Bhāravi and Daṇḍin
56 Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Preface, pp xvi ff He also refers to *EC*, III 107
57 "सजयति कवि रविकीर्त्ति कविताश्रित कालिदास भारविकीर्त्ति·।"

—Aihole Inscription of SE 556, *EI*, VI, no 1

58 *JA*, XVIII 1, pp 13-15, Saletore, *MJ*, p 19, Rice, *Mysore and Coorg in Inscriptions*
59 *NKC*, pts I & II, Introductions, Bombay
60 *Anekānta*, IV 12, p 383, *Tattvasamgraha*, Introduction, p 73
61 K B Pathak, *IA*, XII, Bombay, 1883, pp 19-21
62 Ibid
63 *JSB*, I 4, pp 58, 78

64 K B Pathak, op cit
65 *PJVS*, Introduction, pp 150-53
66 *Anekānta*, IX 11, p 449
67 *MAR*, 1923, p 15, *MJ*, p 231
68 सिरि पुज्जपादसीसो दाविड संघस्स कारगोदुट्ठो।
णामेण वज्जणंदी पाहुडवेदी महासत्तो।।
पंचसए छब्बीसे विक्कमरायस्स मरणपत्तस्स।
दक्खिण महुराजादो दाविडसंघो महामोहो।।
—*Darsanasāra*, p 24 (cf *JBBRAS*, XVII, p 74, Hiralal, *Cat Mss* , p 562
69 For example, the date of Kumārasena, the founder of the Kāṣṭhāsamgha, who was a disciple of Vinayasena, the disciple of Jinasena (*c* AD 850) He must have lived towards the end of the ninth century or beginning of the tenth, but Devasena's date for him (VE 793) places him in the early part of the eighth century If it is taken to be in the Śaka era, it would fit in with the time of Kumārasena
70 Cf L Rice, *Mysore and Coorg in Inscriptions*, Introduction
71 इन्द्रश्चन्द्र. काशकृत्सन पिशली शाकटायना ।
पाणिन्यमर जैनेन्द्रा जयन्त्यष्टौचशाब्दिका ।।
—Vopadeva's *Dhātupātha*
Also see Belvalkar, *Jinaratnakośa*, Poona, p 146, *IA*, X, pp 75-79

CHAPTER 9

The Age of the Logicians

THE KEY-NOTE of Jaina literature in the several centuries after Pūjyapāda was logic Akalanka, the virtual founder of the mediaeval school of Jaina logic, dominated this age Side by side with the logicians a number of important writers of other subjects also flourished

Bhadrabāhu III, the author of the *Niryuktis,* ten in number, was the first commentator of the Śvetāmbara *Sūtras,* as also perhaps the earliest author of this age The *Niryuktis* being a sort of explanatory notes on the *Sūtra*-texts contain much useful material by way of traditions, historical and semi-historical [1] Traditional belief made the author of the *Niryuktis,* identical with Bhadrabāhu I (fourth century BC), but it was a mistake In fact, he was the third Jaina guru of that name, belonged to the Śvetāmbara sect and lived in the sixth century AD [2] He is said to have been a brother of the famous astronomer Varāhamihira (said to have died in AD 587), the date of whose *Pañcasiddhāntikā* is SE 427 (AD 505) [3] As the *Niryuktis* mention many a person and event belonging to the first, second and third centuries and as the redaction of the *Sūtras* themselves had been accomplished in the latter half of the fifth century, this Bhadrabāhu III and his *Niryuktis* may be assigned to *c* AD 525-50

Siddhasena Divākara was the author of the famous philosophical treatise, the *Sanmatisūtra,* also known as *Sanmatitarka* or *Sanmati-prakarana* [4] The author and his work are claimed and held in esteem equally by both the sects Like a number of other Jaina gurus there have been several Siddhasenas, which has given rise to confusion There are scholars who attribute all the known works current under the name of Siddhasena to one and the same guru of that name,[5] but it is not correct [6] The present Siddhasena, surnamed "Divākara," is the second guru of that name and is one of the greatest Jaina philosophers and logicians In his work we find for the first time a comparative study of the different Brahmanical and Buddhist systems of philosophy and their criticism from the Jaina point of view A number of commentaries were written on this

work between the sixth and the seventeenth centuries [7] The author himself gives us practically no information about himself but the following facts help us to fix his time and identity

Jinasena in his *Jayadhavala* (AD 837), Vīrasena in his *Dhavala* (AD 780) and Haribhadra in his several works (*c* AD 775) refer to him by name and quote from his work Abhayadeva (eleventh century) is the earliest available commentator of *Sanmati,* but before him Sumatideva and Mallavādī are also known to have written *Tīkās* on this work In some *Cūrnis* written by Jinadāsa Mahattara (AD 676), the *Sanmati* has been praised as a *prabhāvaka-śāstra* and his views are alluded to even by Jinabhadra (AD 609) [8] Hence *c* AD 600 would be the lower limit of Siddhasena's date

Siddhasena in his work criticises the Buddhist philosophers Nāgārjuna, Maitreya, Asanga, Vasubandhu, Dinnāga and Śankara Svāmi, all of whom belong prior to the sixth century AD He appears to be acquainted with the works and views of Pūjyapāda (AD 464-524) as well as of Bhadrabāhu III (AD 525-50) [9] Siddhasena Divākara, the author of *Sanmati,* therefore, seems to have lived in *c* AD 550-600

A number of authors from the eighth century onwards bestow high praise on Siddhasena and his work [10] Among them is Jinasena, the author of *Harivamśa* (AD 783), who in his own genealogy also mentions one Siddhasena as being ninth in ascent from himself [11] Taking an average of 25 years for each generation, which is also otherwise evident from the genealogy itself, this Siddhasena of the *Harivamśa* would belong to *c* AD 583 Siddhasena has often been mentioned simply as Divākara Some Śvetāmbara *Pattāvalis* give his predecessor's name as Indradinna [12] Ravişena in his *Padmacarita* (AD 676) informs us that his great-grand-preceptor was one Divākara Yati, the disciple of Indra guru [13] This Divākara Yati would also belong to the last quarter of the sixth century

Mallavādī, the Śvetāmbara author of *Dvādaśāranyacakra,* a work on logic, and perhaps of a *Ṭīkā* on Siddhasena's *Sanmati,* also belongs to *c* AD 600 [14] He refers to even Bhartṛhari (AD 590-650)

Saṅghadāsagaṇi, the author of *Vasudevahiṇḍī,* [15] the first available Jaina version of the *Mahābhārata* (though the work was completed later by other writers) and of the *Bṛhat-kalpabhāṣya,* a very early commentary of the *Kalpasūtra,* also belongs to the latter part of the sixth century AD His works contain many Jaina traditions relating to ancient times

The Leaders of the Dramila or Draviḍa Saṁgha—The history of the religious and cultural activity of the Jainas in the Tamil countries

dates from the times of Bhadrabāhu I (fourth century BC)[16] We have seen that Kundakunda (8 BC-AD 44) and after him Samantabhadra (AD 120-85) pioneered the Jaina movement in those lands But from Pūjyapāda's times (AD 464-524) the movement began to gather unprecedented momentum In the latter half of the sixth and early part of the seventh century a number of eminent Jaina ascetic scholars contributed to make Tamil Jainism reach its zenith As has been seen, Vajranandi or Vajrasūri, a successor of Pūjyapāda, in the year 526 (probably AD 604), founded the Dramila Samgha as a regular institution and made Madura its headquarters[17] He himself was a great scholar and the author of *Navastotra,* "an elegant work embodying the variety of the teachings of all the Arhats"[18] It may be mentioned here that it is to the credit of the Dramila Jainas that most of the best works of Tamil classical literature of the Sangamas were produced These works, apart from their literary merit and religious or philosophical importance, are quite valuable for social and cultural history of those lands in ancient times Jaina writers also enriched Tamil literature by writing valuable works on secular subjects like grammar, lexicon, prosody, mathematics, astronomy, etc[19]

Of the other more important leaders of the Dramila Samgha mention may be made of Gunanandi (*c* AD 550) a disciple of Pūjyapāda and the author of the original *Prakriyā* on the *Jainendra,* Vakragrīva (*c* AD 575), author of *Nava-śabdavācya* and mentioned in inscriptions just before Vajranandi, Sumatideva (*c* AD 600), author of perhaps the first commentary on the *Sanmati,* and Pātrakesari who wrote his *Trilakṣa-nakadarthana* in refutation of the *Trilakṣana* theory of the Buddhist logician Dinnāga (AD 345-425)[20] Akalanka refers to and quotes from him Besides the Jaina scholars like Anantavīrya, Vidyānandi and Vādirāja, the Buddhist logician Śāntarakṣita (AD 705-62) in his *Tattvasamgraha* and his disciple Kamalaśīla (AD 713-63) in his *Pañjikā* of that work refer to Pātrakesari and his views.[21] Jinasena in the *Ādipurāna* (*c* AD 850) praises him along with Akalanka,[22] Ugrāditya in his *Kalyānakāraka* (*c* AD 800) describes him as an efficient surgeon[23] and his influence is visible in the *Nyāyāvatāra* of Siddhasena III (*c* AD 700)[24] An inscription of AD 1128 mentions him just after Vajranandi and tells that by the grace of Padmāvatī he had refuted the *Trilakṣana* theory[25] The inscription of AD 1137, however, places Vajranandi after Pātrakesari and describes the latter as the head of the Dramila Samgha[26] He would thus belong to *c* AD 575-625

Śrīvarddhadeva, the author of *Cūdāmani,* is another celebrated

name.[27] That he was a great poet is evident from the praise bestowed upon him by poet Daṇḍin as mentioned in an inscription of AD 1128[28] which giving some details about him mentions him along with Cintāmaṇi, the author of the work of the same name, and after Pātrakesari but before Akalaṅka Some scholars have identified him with Tumbalūrācārya, the author of a commentary also named *Cūdāmani* on the Digambara *Āgamas* [29] It is curious to note that the work *Cūdāmani* and its author Śrīvarddhadeva are equally claimed by the Tamil people,[30] the Kannada people, the canonical writers and the Sanskrit poets It is quite likely that there has been some confusion somewhere due to identical names, or this author must have been a great linguist and a versatile genius His association with the Dramila Samgha and his contemporaneity with Pātrakesari, Akalanka and poet Dandin fix his time about the first quarter of the seventh century AD

Besides these leaders of the Dramila Samgha there were several other Jaina authors belonging to the beginning of the seventh century AD

Mānatuṅga is the author of the celebrated *Bhaktāmara* or *Ādināthastotra* [31] A tradition associated him with king Śrī Harṣa (AD 606-47) [32] The *Paṭṭāvalis* make him precede some Vīra,[33] and a Vīradeva Kṣapanaka is mentioned by Harsa's court poet Bāna as his own comrade [34] Mānatunga and his *Stotra* are equally claimed and respected by both the sects He would thus belong to the beginning of the seventh century AD

Jinabhadra Kṣamāśramaṇa is one of the earliest commentators of the Śvetāmbara *Āgamasūtras* and is generally known as the Bhāṣyakāra His well-known works are the *Viśesāvaśyakabhāṣya* and *Viśesanavatī* Hemacandra calls him a great commentator [35] He also finds mention in the *Kathāvalī* of Bhadreśvara and in several mediaeval *Prabandhas* which give the date of his death as VE 645 (AD 588) [36] But the author himself in the colophon found at the end of a very old manuscript of his *Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya*, discovered by Muni Jinavijaya in the Jaiselmera Bhaṇḍāra, informs that he completed that work in SE 531 (AD 609) in the city of Valabhī, in the reign of King Śilāditya [37] Harsa was also known as Śilāditya and is also known to have conquered Valabhī But the Śilāditya alluded to here seems to have been a king of the Maitraka dynasty and probably Śilāditya I alias Dharmāditya I, the successor of Dharasena II (GE 270) and the predecessor of Dhruvasena II Bālāditya (GE 310) His dated records range between GE 286 and 290 (AD 605-11) [38] This Śilāditya of Valabhi was, according to the *Āryamañjuśrī-mūlakalpa*,

the ruler of the country that stretched beyond Ujjayinī up to the land of the Lāṭas on the seacoast[39] As Jinabhadra criticises Siddhasena Divākara (c AD 550-600) and mentions poet Subandhu and his *Vāsavadattā* (sixth century AD),[40] the date AD 609 for Jinabhadra and his *Bhāṣya* seems to be quite correct

Ravikīrti, the celebrated composer and donee of the famous Aihole Inscription dated SE 556 (AD 634) of Pulakeśin II,[41] was a great Jaina poet and scholar of Maharashtra Ravikīrti's temple at Aihole[42] seems to have been a great centre of learning in those times He was lucky in having the great Pulakeśin as his patron

Akalaṅka the great, whose full name was Bhaṭṭa-Akalankadeva, was the first guru of that name[43] He has also been alluded to as Pūjyapāda, Deva, Devendra, Munīndra, etc[44] He was the greatest Jaina logician and dialectician and was the virtual founder of the Jaina school of Indian logic In fact, Akalanka-nyāya became a byword with the logicians of different sects[45] His own commentators were some of the most eminent logicians and he had a host of admirers amongst the scholars of both the sects as well as among non-Jainas Numerous inscriptions and literary references, traditions and popular legends speak eloquently of the homage paid by posterity to this great master[46]

His definitely known and available works are—

Tattvārtha-rājavārttika—a highly learned and voluminous commentary on the *Tattvārthasūtra* of Umāsvāmin,

Aṣṭaśatī—a learned commentary in 800 verses on the *Āptamīmāṃsā* of Samantabhadra,

Laghīstriya, Nyāyaviniścaya, Siddhiviniścaya, and *Pramāṇasaṃgraha*

A number of other works are also attributed to him but such of them as are available seem to be the creations of later writers All his works are in Sanskrit

Like other great masters of old, Akalaṅka gives but little information about himself In several of his works he gives only his name, but in a verse found in his *Tattvārtha-rājavārttika* he also informs us that he was the son of a king named Laghu Havva[47] An old Sanskrit work, *Akalankacarita* together with *Akalankāṣṭaka* (a poem of 8 verses) attributed to Akalanka, but probably written not very long after his death by some admirer of his, gives a brief account of Akalaṅka's exploits against the Buddhists, which he is made to relate himself in the court of some Rājan

Sāhasatunga [48] The date of this great event is also given in it as VE 700 (AD 643) [49] A number of writers and epigraphic records beginning from the tenth century refer to this disputation and his remarkable victory over the Buddhist scholars [50] In particular, the Malliṣena Epitaph of AD 1128 gives fuller details, confirms the account of *Akalankacarita* and tells that the Buddhist scholar had sought the help of goddess Tārā at the time of the disputation which was held in the court of King Himaśītala The verse giving the date is also quoted in this record [51] The *Kathākośa* of Prabhācandra (eleventh century) gives the name of Akalanka's patron as king Śubhatunga of Mānyakheṭa and tells that his father was one Purusottama, the Brahmin minister of that king, and that the disputation took place in the city of Ratnasañcayapura in the presence of King Himaśītala of Kalinga [52] The *Kathākośas* of Śrīcandra and Nemidatta more or less repeat the same account [53] The Kannada *Himaśītalakathe* or *Akalankacarite* (AD 1800),[54] the *Bhuvanapradīpikā* (AD 1808)[55] and the *Rājāvalīkathe*[56] agree in general details with the version of the *Kathākośas*, but they differ in some names and make Akalanka a Tamil or at best a Kannadiga and not a Maharashtrian as the *Kathākośas* seem to imply They are also silent about Sāhasatunga and make Himaśītala a king of Kāñcī, who, in consequence of Akalanka's victory, is said to have turned a Jaina and persecuted the Buddhists The *Bhuvanapradīpikā* makes Himaśītala a king of Tundīradeśa and gives his date as Kali 1125 Pingala Ajitasena in the colophon of his *Nyāyamanidīpikā* locates the site of the disputation as the Mahāsthāna of Sakalarājādhirāja Parameśvara Himaśītala [57] Peterson alleged knowledge of some tradition which made Akalanka the son of Rāstrakūta Krsna I (AD 756-72) [58]

With the above facts together with Akalanka's own contemporaneity, priority and posteriority to a number of well-known Jaina, Buddhist and Brahmanical scholars referring to or referred to by him as basis, there have been hot discussions and controversies as regards the date and nationality of Akalanka and identity of his patrons (viz , Sāhasatunga and Himaśītala) In modern times, Col Mackenzie was perhaps the first to take historical notice of this guru [59] On the basis of his references, Wilson surmised that "in the eighth century Akalanka, a Jaina teacher from Śravana Belgola, who had been partly educated in the Bauddha College at Pontaga (near Trivattur), disputed with the Bauddhas in the presence of the last Bauddha prince Himaśītala (at Kāñcī) and having confuted them, the prince became a Jaina and the Bauddhas were

banished to Candy "[60] Following Wilson, John Murdoch fixed the date of this event in c. AD 800,[61] while Robert Sewell fixed it exactly in AD 788 [62] B.L Rice supported this theory and had no doubt as to Himaśītala s being a Pallava King of Kāñcī, but he also suggested that the Jainas themselves had for the date "the immemorial sentence *Sapta Sailadhi*," etc which gives SE 777 (AD 855), and admitted his inability to identify the king named Sāhasatunga [63] Since then no one has questioned this identificaltion of Himaśītala and a majority of scholars have also accepted the date AD 788 [64]

As regards Sāhasatunga, K B Pathak at first identified him with Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣna I (AD 756-72) and S C Vidyābhūṣana supported him [65] Later on, Pathak revised his opinion and identified that king with Rāstrakūta Dantidurga (AD 745-56) [66] Since then nobody has questioned this identification either Only Altekar and Upadhye call it merely conjectural [67]

In recent times several scholars have, however, dissented from this general view about Akalanka's date being the latter part of the eighth century and have tried to prove that the traditional date (i e , VE 700 = AD 643) might be correct [68] Among these, K C Sastri, chiefly on the basis of references by and to Akalanka found in his own works and in those of other Jaina and non-Jaina scholars of those centuries, has tried to show that Akalanka could not but have lived in the seventh century AD [69] These scholars, however, touched neither the Himaśītala nor the Sāhasatunga part of the Akalanka tradition nor did they try to explore the historicity of the traditional date of AD 643

A close examination of the original sources, traditions and modern discussions relating to this great master, however, brings out the following facts

Akalanka is the commentator of Umāsvāmi (first century AD) and Samantabhadra (second century), and he refers to or quotes from Śrīdatta (c AD 400), Devanandi Pūjyapāda (AD 464-524), Siddhasena Divākara (AD 550-600), Mallavādī (AD 600) and Pātrakesari (c AD 575-625) [70]

Among non-Jaina scholars he quotes from, criticises or refers to, Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* (second century BC), Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* (c AD 400), Diṅnāga's *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* (AD 345-425) and Bhartrhari's *Vākyapadīya* (AD 590-650) [71]

His well-known commentators are Abhayacandra (twelfth century), Prabhācandra (AD 980-1065), Vādirāja (AD 1025), Anantavīrya II (c AD

825), Vidyānandi (AD 775-825) and Anantavīrya I (*c* AD 700), and he is praised or alluded to in the *Ādipurāna* (*c* AD 850), the *Anekānta-jayapatākā* of Haribhadra (AD 725-825), the *Harivaṃśa* (AD 783), the *Dhavala* (*c* AD 780) and the *Tattvārthabhāṣya* of Siddhasenagani (*c* AD 750) [72] Jinadāsa Mahattara, who completed his *Nandicūrni* in SE 598 (AD 676), also seems to praise Akalaṅka's *Siddhiviniścaya* as a *prabhāvaka śāstra* in his *Niśīthacūrni* [73]

A comparative study of the works of Bhartṛhari (AD 590-650), Dharmakīrti (AD 635-50) and Kumārila (AD 600-660) with those of Akalanka suggests that they all might have been contemporaries, living rivals and philosophical antagonists They seem to criticise and refer to one another

The traditional date VE 700 is at least as old as the ninth century

The *Bhuvanapradīpikā* gives the date as Kali 1125 Pingala A popular tradition makes the Kali era start with the accession of the first Nanda Jaina tradition as preserved in the *Harivaṃśa* places that event 425 years before Vikrama Hence 1125 minus 425 gives 700 And the Samvatsara in that year actually happened to be Piṅgala

The inscription of AD 1128 mentions that after Akalanka there lived his colleague Puspasena whose disciple was Vimalacandra, a great disputant associated with the court of a king named Śatrubhayankara Vimalacandra's grand-disciple was Parvādimalla, a great logician associated with another king named Krṣnarāja [74] Scholars believing Akalanka to have lived in the eighth century have wrongly identified these kings with Rāṣtrakūta Govind III (AD 793-814) and Krsna II (AD 884-914) respectively [75] This Parvādimalla or Mallavādī wrote a commentary on the *Tippana* by the Buddhist scholar Dharmottara (AD 725-50) on the *Nyāyavindu*,[76] and his grand-disciple appears as donee in the Surat plates of Karka, dated SE 743 (AD 821) [77] Hence this Kṛsnarāja can be none else but Kṛṣna I (AD 758-73) Similarly, the king Śatrubha-yaṅkara appears to be the Gaṅga monarch Śrīpuruṣa Muttarasa (AD 726-77) who has been given the epithet of Aribhayaṅkara (a synonym of Śatrubhayankara) in several Ganga records one of which belongs to this king's own reign and is dated SE 698 (AD 776) [78] This record also mentions Vimalacandra and indicates that this guru must have lived prior to the middle of the eighth century

A number of Cālukyan records of the late seventh and early eighth centuries mention the disciples and grand-disciples of one Pūjyapāda of the Devagana, who is said to have been a native of Alaktakanagara

(modern Altem in Maharashtra).[79] There is little doubt that this guru was none else than Akalaṅka himself.[80] Even Vīrasena in his *Dhavala* (AD 780) referred to and quoted from him under that name.[81] Akalaṅka was a great pontiff and belonged to the Devagaṇa, not to the Deśīya or Nandigaṇa.[82] He and his successors enjoyed royal patronage, principally of the Western Cālukyas of Bādāmi and seem to have been the heads of a great centre of learning situated in or near the Cālukyan capital, probably at Aihole or Alaktakanagara

King Sāhasatuṅga, the patron of Akalanka, appears to have been identical with the Western Cālukyan emperor Vikramāditya I (AD 642-81), the son and successor of Pulakeśin II (AD 606-42)

Similarly, King Himaśītala of the Akalaṅka tradition seems to have been identical with the Trikalingādhipati of Hiuen Tsang's time (AD 643) [83] The traditions relating to Akalaṅka, the political history of the second and third quarters of the seventh century, the then religious conditions and inter-communal relations, inscriptional evidence and Hiuen Tsang's valuable testimony lead to the conclusion that most probably the historic disputation of Akalanka with the Buddhist scholars was held in the court of the king of Kaliṅga about the middle of the seventh century AD

Tradition gives the name of Akalanka's guru as Ravigupta who might be identical with Ravikīrti of the Aihole inscription (AD 634). The Buddhist college where Akalaṅka is said to have studied might be that of Kanheri

The date of Akalanka would thus be *c* AD 625-75 and that of his disputation with the Mahāyānī Buddhists of Kalinga at Ratnapura on the Diamond Coast might well have been AD 643

Jinadāsagaṇi Mahattara is the author of several *Cūrnis* on the *Āgamasūtras* These *Cūrnis* contain useful material for the students of history[84] and as has been seen, seem to contain references to Siddhasena Divākara and Akalanka, which help us to fix the dates of these scholars [85] On the other hand, Haribhadra (eighth century) quotes at length from these *Cūrnis* [86] At the end of a very old manuscript of the *Nandicūrni* the date of its completion is given as SE 598 (AD 676) [87] The date of his *Niśīthacūrni* is also found to be VE 733 (AD 676) [88]

Raviṣeṇa is the author of the *Padmacarita* (18,000 verses divided into 123 parvas) which is the earliest available Jaina Purāna in Sanskrit giving the story of the *Rāmāyana* [89] The work appears to be an elaborate translation of Vimala Sūri's Prākṛta *Paumacariu* Raviṣeṇa and his work have been referred to by poet Dhavala (eleventh century), Svayambhu (*c* AD 790), Jinasena II (AD 783) and Udyotana Sūri (AD 778) [90] Fortunately

Raviṣeṇa gives the date of the completion of his work in the Mahāvīra era, after the manner of Vimala Sūri, as ME 1203 (AD 676) [91] There is no reason to doubt the correctness of this date He also gives the names of his four immediate predecessors [92] His work is an important source for the cultural history of ancient India and for a comparative study of the different currents of the story of the *Rāmāyana*

Jaṭasiṁhanandi, Jaṭacārya or Jaṭila is the author of *Varāngacarita* which is an excellent and perhaps the earliest available Sanskrit Puranic *kāvya* of the *Caritra* type [93] It is assigned to the seventh century AD In fact, all the later writers who mention Ravisena also mention this author and his work The cultural importance of this work is also being realised [94]

Joindu (Yogindu) is perhaps the earliest known author who wrote in Apabhraṁśa He was a great mystic poet and saint, a forerunner of the mediaeval mystic saint-poets His well-known works are the *Parinappapayasa* (*Paramātma-prakāśa*) and *Jogasāra* [95] Earliest known references to him are found in the works of Jayasena (AD 1150-1200) and Hemacandra (AD 1083-1173) Devasena (AD 933) bears visible traces of his influence On the other hand, Joindu freely borrows from the *Moksapāhuda* of Kundakunda (first century) and the *Samādhiśataka* of Pūjyapāda (AD 464-524) And since Caṇḍa in his *Prākrtalaksana,* the last recension of which dates AD 700, is found quoting a verse (I 85) from the *Paramātmaprakāśa* of Joindu,[96] the latter may safely be assigned to the close of the seventh century AD

Padmanandi is the author of the *Jambudvīpaprajñaptisamgraha,* an old Prākrta text on the subject of cosmology, which also contains much useful information about ancient geography and Jaina traditions [97] In the colophon at the end of the work the author tells us that he was the disciple of Balanandi, the disciple of Vīranandi, and that he had studied the subject from Śrī Vijayaguru, the disciple of Śakalacandra, the disciple of the famous Māghanandi, in the city of Bārā situated in the country of Pārijāta when Satti, the lord of Bārānagar, was ruling over that region [98] Unfortunately he gives no dates and it is very difficult to identify the names Opinions differ as regards his date, but a close examination of the details supplied by him inclines us to assign this author to *c* AD 700 His Bārānagar seems to be identical with the town of Bāran in the Kota district of Rajasthan

Aparājita Sūri or Śrīvijaya is the author of the *Vijayodayā* which is the earliest available and authoritative commentary on the *Bhagavatī-*

ārādhanā of Śivārya.[99] He belonged to the Yāpanīya Nandi Saṁgha and was the disciple of Baladeva Sūri, the disciple of Candranandi[100] The author's guru seems to be identical with Padmanandi's guru, Balanandi Śrīvijaya would thus belong to *c* AD 700

Dhanañjaya, the famous poet and author of the *Dvisandhānakāvya, Anekārtha-nāmamālā* and *Viṣāpahāra-stotra,* mentions Pūjyapāda and Akalanka (AD 625-75) and is himself quoted by Vīrasena in his *Dhavala* (AD 780)[101] Hence he would also belong to *c* AD 700

Siddhasena III, the author of *Nyāyāvatāra,* a small but important treatise on the science of logic, containing 32 verses in Sanskrit, is a Śvetāmbara scholar who is generally, though wrongly, identified with Siddhasena Divākara (*c* AD 550-600), the author of the *Sanmati,* as also with Siddhasena Ksapanaka (*c* AD 425), the author of the *Dvātrimśikās*[102] His earliest commentator is Siddharsi (AD 905) and the *Nyāyāvatāra* bears visible traces of the influence of Pātrakesari (*c* AD 600, Dharmakīrti AD 635-50), and of even Dharmottara (AD 725-50)[103] Haribhadra (*c* AD 725-825) does not mention this work or its author Hence he would belong to *c* AD 700-750

Siddhasenagaṇi, the author of the earliest and the biggest Śvetāmbara commentary on the *Tattvārtha* of Umāsvāmin, is also the first to allege the existence of the *Svopajña Bhāṣya* on that work According to the colophon of his work, Siddhasenagani was the disciple of Bhāsvāmi, the disciple of Simhasvāmi The latter is said to have written a *tīkā* on the *Nayacakra* of Mallavādī (*c* AD 600) Siddhasenagani mentions Vasubandhu (AD 450), Dharmakīrti and Akalanka (AD 625-75) and he himself is mentioned in the *Ācārāngavrtti* of Śīlāmka (AD 858-76) but is mentioned nowhere by Haribhadra (*c* AD 725-825)[104] Hence he would belong to *c* AD 750

REFERENCES

1 See *JA*, XII 1, pp 11-12, *IHQ*, XI, p 631, XII, pp 270 ff , Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature,* II, pp 483ff

2 *Anekānata,* IX 11, pp 443-44, *PJVS*, p 146

3 "तत्थ य भद्दबाहु नाम माहणो हुत्था, तस्स य परमपिम्म सरिसीरुह मिहरो वराहमिहरो नाम सहोयरो।"—*Samyaktva Saptatīkāvṛtti* Merutunga in *Prabandhacintāmani*, ch V, also says the same thing For Varāhamihira's date, see A A Macdonell, *A History of Sanskrit Literature,* p 564, Smith, *Oxford History of India,* 1920, p 160

4 Text was published from Bhavanagar in 1908, and there is a well-edited

publication with Gujarati translation and introduction in English by Pt Sukhlal and Bechardas, tr by Messrs Athawale and Gopani, Bombay, 1939

5 Sukhlal's Introduction and his articles in *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, III
6 *Anekānta*, IX 11, pp 17-66; *PJVS*, Introduction, pp 119ff
7 Ibid , and Sukhlal's Introduction to *Sanmati*
8 Ibid
9 Ibid
10 Ibid
11 See *Harivaṁśa*, ch 66, v 29 In ch I, v 30, also he is praised—
जगत्प्रसिद्ध बोधस्य वृषभस्येव निस्तुषाः।
बोधयन्ति सता बुद्धिं सिद्धसेनस्य सूक्तय.॥
12 *Paṭṭāvali-samuccaya*, p 150
13 See *Padmacarita*, parva 123, v 167
14 See *Sanmatitarka* (Sukhlal's edition), Introduction, pp 71-72 The *Prabhāvakacarita* (foruteenth century), however, places him in ME 884 (AD 327), which is evidently wrong
15 Cf , Alsdorf, *Harivamśapurāna*, Hamburg, 1936, pp 94-109 The text with Gujarati translation by Prof Sandesara has been published from Bhavanagar in 1946
16 See Rice, *Mysore and Coorg in Inscriptions*, pp 2-10, Narasimhachar, *Inscriptions at Śravana Belgola*, pp 36-40, Smith, *Oxford History of India*, pp 75-76ff
17 *Darśanasāra*, p 24, R S Ayengar, *SSIJ*, p 52, *History of the Tamils*, p 247
18 *Mysore and Coorg in Inscriptions*, p 196, *EC*, II 67, pp 25-26 For other inscriptions associating him with the Draviḍa Samgha, see *EC*, V, Bl 17, p 51, *EC*, VI, Kd 69, p 13, *EC*, V, Ak 1, pp 112f
19 See Chakravarti, *Jaina Literature in Tamil*, Arrah, *SSIJ*, pp 76-77, 81-104, Ramchandra Dikshitar, *Studies in Tamil Literature*
20 See *NKC*, pt I, Introduction
21 Ibid , also *Anekānta*, I 2, pp 73ff , *PJVS*, p 142
22 भट्टाकलक श्रीपाल पात्रकेसरिण गुणा, etc —*Ādipurāna*, I 53
23 शालाक्य पूज्यपाद प्रकटितमधिक शल्य तन्त्र च पात्रस्वामिप्रोक्त , etc
—*Kalyānakāraka*
24 *PJVS*, p 141
25 *EC*, II 67, pp 25-26
26 श्रीमद द्रमिल सघाग्रेसरर —*EC*, V, Bl 17, p 51
27 Rice, *Mysore and Coorg in Inscriptions*, p 198
28 चूड़ामणि· कवीना चुडामणिनाम सेव्य काव्यकवि ।
श्रीवर्द्धदेव एवहि कृतपुण्य कीर्तिमाहर्तुं॥
य एव मुपश्लोकितो दण्डिना—
जन्हो कन्या जटाग्रेण बभार परमेश्वर.।
श्रीवर्द्धदेव सधत्से जिव्हाग्रेण सरस्वतीं॥ —Cf *EC*, II 67, p 260
Also see *JDL*, IX, pt 2, 1923, pp 97 ff

29 *Kavicarite*, pt I, p 8, n 1, Rice, *A History of Canarese Literature*, p 24, *Inscriptions at Śravana Belgola*, p 44
30 *SSIJ*, pp 94, 103, Rangacharya, *Topographical List*, I, p 80.
31 See Jacobi's Foreword to *Bhaktāmara*, ed H R Kapadia, also Max Müller's *India, What can it Teach us*, London, 1883, p 291
32 Jacobi's Foreword, op cit
33 Vide, *Paṭṭāvalis* of Tapāgaccha and Khartaragaccha *(Paṭṭāvalisamuccaya)*
34 See Peterson's Introduction to *Kādambarī*, pp 52-53, also Introduction to *Kādambarī*, p 3n
35 Vide, *Siddhahema*, II 2 39
36 *Sanmatitarka* (Sukhlal's ed), Introduction, p 73
37 See *PJVS*, Introduction, p 145, Upadhye's English Introduction to the same, pp 1-2
38 *IA*, XV, p 273
39 *PIHC*, Nagpur, 1950, pp 62-63
40 *Sanmati*, Introduction, pp 74-82 Poet Bāna also mentions Subandhu
41 *EI*, VI (Kielhorn), no 1, pp 1-12
42 See the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, XXIII, p 564
43 A number of gurus of this name are known to have lived in later times See *NKC*, pt I, Introduction, p 25
44 See the author's article, "Pūjyapāda of the Chalukyan Records," *JA*, XIX 1, pp 16ff
45 See S C Vidyabhushana, *A History of the Mediaeval School of Indian Logic*, Introductions to *NKC*, pts I and II, *Akalaṅka Granthatraya* and *Rājavārttika*
46 Ibid In particular the inscription of 1128, *EC*, II 97, p 17, styles him as one "through whom the Jaina doctrine which had been stainless from the beginning, became resplendent without any stain "
47 जीयाच्चिरमकलङ्क ब्रह्मा लघुहव्यनृपतिवर तनय ।
अनवरत निखिल विद्वज्जन नुतविद्य.प्रशस्त जनहृद्य.॥
—Cf Hiralal, *Cat Mss* , Introduction, p xxvi
48 See *EC*, II, Introduction, pp 48, 84, Fleet, *Dynasties of Kanarese Districts*, pp 32-33
49 विक्रमाङ्क शकाब्दीय शतसप्त प्रमाजुषि।
कालेऽकलङ्क यतिनोबौद्धर्वादो महानभूत॥
Also see R Narasimhachar, *Inscriptions at Śravana Belgola*, Introduction
50 *MAR*, 1923, p 15 (tenth century), *EC*, II 64, p 17, ibid , II 67 et seq Among writers, Vādirāja, AD 1025, Ajita Brahma, Ajitasena and Śubhacandra refer to this event
51 *EC*, II 67, p 27, *Inscriptions at Śravana Belgola*, no 54 of 1128
52 Hiralal, *Cat Mss* , Introduction, p 26
53 Ibid , p 19
54 Vide, Rice, *Mysore and Coorg in Inscriptions*, pp 200-201
55 *MAR*, 1918, p 68
56 Rice, *Mysore and Coorg in Inscriptions*
57 See *Praśastisaṁgraha*, Arrah, 1942, p 1

58 Peterson's Report, no 2, p 79, Altekar, *RTT*, p 409
59 *Col Mackenzie's Collection of MSS* (Cat , III, pp 423-36)
60 *The Mackenzie Collections*, Introduction, p 40
61 *Classified Cat of Tamil Printed Books*, 1865, pp 65-66
62 *A Sketch of the Dynasties of South India*, p 73
63 B L Rice, *Inscriptions at Śravana Belgola*, Bangalore, 1889, Introduction, p 45 Also see his *Mysore Inscs* , p 56, *Pampa Rāmāyana*, Introduction, p 3 He seems to have got some version of the verse quoted above, which had the words *Sapta Śailādri* instead of *Saptaśata Pramājuṣi*
64 Amongst others, S K Ayenger gives AD 855, *Ancient India*, p 269, R G Bhandarkar, AD 778, *Report*, 1889, p 31, Vidyabhushana, AD 750, *History of the Medieval School of Indian Logic*, p 26, N R Premi, AD 753-75, *JH*, XI, pp 7-8, K B Pathak, AD 744-82, *ABORI*, XI 2, p 153, Altekar, AD 780, *RTT*, p 409, Mahendra Kumar, AD 720-80, *NKC*, pt I, Introduction
65 *History of the Mediaeval School of Indian Logic*, p 26
66 *ABORI*, XI, 2, p 155 In 1905 the Madras Government Epigraphist had also surmised that the epithet Sāhasatunga used in the Rāmeśwara temple record probably refers to Dantidurga who might be identical with the Sāhastunga of the Akalaṅka tradition, cf *Ep Rep* , Southern Circle for 1905, p 49 B A Saletore made this undated and damaged Rāmeśwara temple record, which was inscribed at least two hundred years after the times of Dantidurga, the chief basis for identifying Sāhasatunga with Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dantidurga and for fixing the age of Akalanka "The Age of Guru Akalanka," *JBHS*, VI, pp 10-33
67 Altekar, *RTT*, p 409, Upadhye, *ABORI*, XIV, p 164, n 5
68 S Srikantha Sastri gives AD 645 (*ABORI*, XII 3, p 255), J K Mukhtar, AD 640 (*Svāmi Samantabhadra*, p 125), A N Upadhye, last quarter of seventh century (*ABORI*, XIV, p 164, n)
69 K C Sastri's Introduction to *NKC*, pt II
70 Ibid , also Introduction to pt I, to *Akalaṅka-granthatraya* , to *Rājavārttika* and to *Parīkṣāmukham* (S C Ghoshal), as also Pathak and Vidyabhushana, op cit
71 Ibid
72 Ibid
73 *NKC*, pt II, Introduction, *PJVS*, Introduction, p 110, *Sanmatitarka*, Introduction, pp 35-36, *Jaiselmere Bhandāra Sūci*, Baroda, p 18 The same is alluded to in the *Vṛtti* on *Jitakalpacūrni* (of AD 676) by Śrīcanda Sūri
74 *EC*, II 67, pp 27-28 Also see ibid , VIII, no 35, pp 138-42
75 *MJ*, pp 36-37, *EC*, II 67, Introduction, p 48
76 S C Vidyabhushana, *History of the Medieval School of Indian Logic*, p 34, *PJVS*, Introduction, p 149, *Varni Volume*, p 204
77 *EI*, XXI, no 22, pp 133 ff
78 *EC*, IV, Ng 85, pp 135-36, also Introduction, p 9, *MJ*, pp 88, 155
79 *IA*, VII, p 112, XII, pp 19-21, XXX, p 106, D C Sircar, *The Successors of the Satavahanas in the Lower Deccan*, p 300, *MJ*, pp 41-42, *JA*, XIII 2,

p 33, *MAR*, 1921, pp 23-24

80 Cf J P Jain, "Pūjyapāda of the Chalukyan Records," *JA*, XIX 1, pp 16 ff

81 Ibid

82 See *Harivamśapurāna* (I 31), Bhandarkar, *Principal Results etc*, List 1889, p 31, Introduction to *NKC*, pts. I and II, and to *Akalaṅka-granthatraya*

83 Cf, J P Jain, "The Trikalingādhipati of Hiuen Tsang's Times and King Himaśītala of the Akalanka Tradition," *JUPHS*, III (New Series), pt 2, pp 108-25

84 See J C Jain, *Life in Ancient India as Depicted in the Jaina Canons*, Bombay, 1947

85 *NKC*, pt II, Introduction

86 *JSS*, I 1, p 50

87 *PJVS*, Introduction, p 119, *NKC*, pt II, Introduction, *Sanmatitarka*, Introduction, pp 35-36

88 "विक्रम सवत् ७३३ वर्षे रचिताया निशीथ चूर्ण्या अवतरणानि हरिभद्रसूरीयावश्यक वृत्तौ दृश्यन्ते ।"

—*Jaiselmere Bhandāra Sūcī*, Baroda, p 18

89 Published by MDJG, Bombay, VF 1985, also see *JSB*, I, 2-3, p 37

90 See Dhavala's Apabhramśa *Harivamśa*, Jinasena's *Harivamśapurāna*, I 340, Udyotana's *Kuvalayamālā*, v 41

91 द्विशताभ्यधिके समासहस्रे समतीतेऽर्ध चतुर्थवर्ष (१२०३/१/२) युक्ते।
जिनभास्कर वर्द्धमान सिद्धे चरित पद्ममुनेरिद निबद्धम्।।

—*Padmacarita*, ch 123, v 185

92 आसीदिन्द्र गुरोर्दिवाकर यति शिष्योऽस्य चार्हन्मुनि ।
तस्माल्लक्ष्मणसेन सन्मुनिरद शिष्यो रविस्तत्स्मृत ।। ६१ ।।

—Ibid

93 A N Upadhye's edition, Bombay, 1938 Also see *ABORI*, XIV, 1-2, *Jaina Jagata*, VIII 7, p 20

94 See *JA*, XII 2, pp 45-52

95 See Introduction to *Paramātma-prakāsa*, ed A N Upadhye, RJS, Bombay, 1937

96 Ibid, Upadhye places him in the Sixth century, while M C Modi in the tenth (*Apabhramśa-pāthāvali*, notes, pp 76-79)

97 See *IHQ*, XIV, pp 188ff, ibid, XIV 2, pp 388-91, *PJVS*, Introduction, pp 64-67

98 *JSS*, I 4, pp 144-50, *JSI*, pp 256-59 (colophon reproduced), *JA*, IV 3, pp 81-84

99 Published by N R Premi, Bombay, 1933, and from Solapur in 1935

100 See *JSI*, pp 31-32, *PJVS*, Introduction, p 66, *Anekānta*, II 1, pp 57-60

101 प्रमाणमकलङ्कस्य पूज्यपादस्य लक्षणम्।
धनञ्जयकवे· काव्य त्रिरत्नमपश्चिमम्।।

—*Nāmamālā*

The verse quoted from the same work in *Dhavala* is
हेतावेवं प्रकाराद्यैः व्यवच्छेदे विपर्ययः।
प्रादुर्भावे समाप्ते च इतिशब्दः विदुर्बुधा॥
He is also praised by poet Rājaśekhara, the author of *Kāvyamīmāmsā* (cf *JSI*, p 465)

102 See P L Vaidya's edition of *Nyāyāvatāra*, 1928, S C Vidyabhushana, *A History of Mediaeval School of Indian Logic*, also his Introduction to *Nyāyāvatāra*, edited by him, *Sanmatitarka*, Introduction

103 Ibid , also Jacobi's Introduction to *Samarāiccakahā*, Introduction, *PJVS*, pp 141-42

104 Introduction of the *Tattvārthasūtra*, ed Sukhlal, Banaras, 1952

Chapter 10

Authors of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Age

THE PERIOD between the accession of Dantidurga (*c* AD 733) and the end of Amoghavarṣa I (AD 876 or 884) marked the zenith of the Rāstrakūta power which was at that time the most extensive, prosperous and powerful empire in the whole of India The same period produced a marvellous galaxy of Jaina authors who were patronised by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas or other kings of the time and who produced in different languages and on different subjects a large number of valuable works many of which are likely to prove useful sources not only for cultural but also for political history of the times The more important of these authors are—

Svāmi Vīrasena, one of the most important names in the history of Jaina literature, is the greatest, most well-known and probably the last commentator of the Digambara canon The voluminous and highly learned works of Vīrasena, viz , the *Dhavala*, the *Jayadhavala* and the *Mahādhavala*, written in Prākṛta and Sanskrit mixed, were lying locked up in palm-leaf manuscripts in the Siddhānta Basadi Maṭha of Mūḍabidri in South Kanara for the past 800 years or so and were merely an object of worship for the pilgrims It is only recently that the work of their publication in well-edited standard editions has started More than a dozen big volumes have come out [1] As Dr Ghatge observes, "This has brought about a radical change in our ideas of the literary history of the Digambaras and their relation to the Śvetāmbaras These voluminous commentaries embody much traditional information and even earlier literary works of their predecessors on the ancient *Sūtras* of Puṣpadanta, Bhūtabali, Gunadhara, etc "[2] In fact, Vīrasena was not only a great pontiff and the head of a flourishing centre of learning of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire but was also a versatile genius and a literary prodigy The numerous quotations and references used by him show his thorough acquaintance with almost the whole range of Jaina literature that had been produced prior to his times [3]

Fortunately he gives some information about himself in the colophon

at the end of his *Dhavala*, but it is somewhat damaged and full of copyist's mistakes It tells us that "Vīrasena, who was a disciple of Āryanandi and a grand-disciple of Candrasena of the Pañcastūpa-anvaya, who was proficient in Siddhānta, Chanda, Vyākarana, Jyotiṣa, and Pramānaśāstra, and who had studied the Siddhānta from Elācārya, wrote and completed this commentary, the *Dhavala*, in VE 838, on the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of Kārttika when the Lagna was in the seventh zodiac sign (Tulā), Sūrya, Budha and Guru were in the same sign and in the first house, Śani was in Kumbha with Rāhu, Maṅgala in Dhanu, Śukra in Simha and Candra in Mīna, in the territory directly governed by Jagatungadeva in the empire of Boddanarāya Narendra, Narendra Cūdāmani "[4] We identify this emperor with Rāṣtrakūṭa Dhruva Dhārāvarsa (AD 779-93) Govinda III Jagatunga as the heir-designate was in charge of the military headquarters of Mayūrakhandī and ruled as his father's viceroy over the Nāsikadeśa (region) [5] The colophon of the *Jayadhavala*, completed in AD 837 by Vīrasena's disciple Jinasena, which is supported by the *Śrutāvatāras*, the *Pattāvalis* and other works, states that Vīrasena lived and wrote his works in the Candraprabhu temple of Vātagrāmapura[6] which we have identified with village Vānī in Dindori *taluka* of Nasik district and which also figures in contemporary Rāṣtrakūta records under the name of Vātanagara Visaya of Nāsikadeśa [7] The Pañcastūpa-anvaya is an ancient line of Jaina gurus, which originally seems to have belonged to the north, derived from Mathura or Hastināpur, and extended up to Varanasi and Bengal A branch seems to have migrated to the Deccan in the sixth or seventh century AD [8] From the ninth century onwards the gurus of this Anvaya seem to have changed its name into that of the Senagana The *Śrutāvatāras* tell us that Vīrasena had studied the Siddhānta from Elācārya who was a native of Citrakūṭa-pura [9] It seems to be no other place than Chittor in Rajasthan Vīrasena himself seems to have originally belonged to this place and to have later on migrated to and settled in the Rāṣtrakūta territories in the ancient Cāmbhārlena caves of Vātagrāma in the vicinity of Nasik There is evidence of the existence of an Elācārya about the middle of the eighth century AD [10] Similarly a Candrasena appears to have lived in the last quarter of the seventh century[11] and an Aryanandi in the first half of the eighth century [12] Vīrasena refers to and quotes from Akalanka (AD 625-75)[13] and Dhanañjaya (*c* AD 700) [14] He himself is alluded to by Jinasena II in his *Harivamśa* (AD 783)[15] and by Vidyānandi in his *Aṣtasahasrī* (AD 792) [16] The latter appears to allude to Vīrasena's recent demise Vīrasena

had a large number of colleagues and disciples [17] the greatest favourite, though perhaps the youngest of them all, was Jinasena III who completed the *Jayadhavala* in AD 837 Vīrasena must have taken some 25 years to complete that voluminous work and about as long to prepare himself for that specialised task His library was very well equipped. He is also said to have written a mathematical treatise named *Siddhabhūpaddhati*[18] and was probably responsible for the present recension of the *Tiloya-pannati* Svāmi Vīrasena would thus belong to *c* AD 710-90 He was evidently patronised by the Rāṣṭrakūta emperor Dhruva and the crown-prince Jagatunga

Haribhadra Sūri is perhaps the greatest Śvetāmbara scholar and author of these centuries He was a poet, philosopher, disputant and the first to write Sanskrit commentaries on the canonical texts It is said that he wrote 1,444 works, big and small Of these some 88 have so far been discovered and out of them 26 are definitely known to have been his creation [19] He was a versatile genius and has been held in high esteem by posterity It is said on good authority that before his times only one-eighth of the whole Śvetāmbara literature available today existed and to the remaining seven-eighths he was the greatest contributor and inspirer by example [20] More important of his works are the canonical commentaries like the *Āvaśyakavrtti, Nandivrtti* and *Pañcasūtratīkā* His other works are the *Anekānta-jayapatākā, Satdarśanasamuccaya, Śāstravārtā-samuccaya, Yogavindu, Upadeśapada,* and *Lalitavistara*. His *Samarāiccakahā* is a fine Prākrta Purānic *kāvya*[21] and his *Dhūrtākhyāna* is an excellent satire [22] He also wrote commentaries on some important non-Jaina works such as the *Nyāyapraveśa* of Dinnāga Haribhadra was a worthy successor of Akalanka, was as great a disputant and was also like him never virulent in his attacks against rival creeds or philosophers.

He appears to have been a native of Chittor, born in a learned Brahmin family A nun by name Yākinī Mahattarā was instrumental in his conversion Hence he is often styled as "the son of Yākinī " His guru was Jinadatta Sūri of the Vidyādhara Gaccha [23]

Haribhadra refers to and quotes not only from Siddhasena II and his *Sanmati* (*c* AD 550-600) and several other authors prior to AD 600, but he also holds Akalanka (*c* AD 625-75) in high respect and in his *Anekāntajayapatākā* often alludes to "Akalanka's logic "[24] He refutes Bhartrhari (AD 590-650), Dharamakīrti (AD 635-50), Kumārila (AD 600-660) and even Dharmottara (AD 700-780) On the other hand, Udyotana Sūri in his *Kuvalayamālā* (AD 778) admits himself to be a pupil of

Haribhadra Hence Muni Jinavijaya fixed Haribhadra's date as AD 700-770 [25] Dr Jacobi has supported him [26] But this date has got to be revised in view of the following facts.

Haribhadra in his *Anekānta-jayapatākāṭīkā* mentions Mallavādi[27] and this Mallavādi appears to be the one who wrote a commentary on Dharmottara's *Ṭippana* (AD 700-780) on Dharmakīrti's *Nyāyavindu*, and who mentions in that work of his, Vinītadeva (AD 775-800) [28]

Haribhadra has quoted a verse (गम्भीरगर्जितारम्भ) in his *Ṣaṭdarśana-samuccaya* from Bhaṭṭa Jayanta's *Nyāyamañjarī* (c AD 800) [29]

In chapter 4 of his *Śāstravārtāsamuccaya* he alludes to Śāntarakṣita (AD 740-840) and his views [30]

Hence the literary activities of Haribhadra must have extended beyond AD 800 He is reputed to have lived a long life and the fact that he had taught logic to Udyotana (AD 778) need not be doubted Haribhadra Sūri, therefore, seems to have lived in c AD 725-825

Udyotana Sūri is the author of the famous Prākrta romance, *Kuvalayamālā* Only two manuscripts of the work, one on palm-leaf and dated AD 1082 and the other belonging to the fifteeth century, have so far been discovered [31] The work is very valuable as it supplies in the long colophon (27 verses) at its end much useful historical information

Thus he tells us that the work was completed in the afternoon of the day preceding the end of the Śaka year 699 (i e , March AD 778), in the Rsabhadeva temple built by Śrī Ravibhadra in Jābālipur (Jalor) where lived many Jainas and which was adorned with many beautiful Jaina temples (vv 18-20, 26), that the king of the country was Śrī Vatsarāja (v 21), that he, Udyotana Sūri, styled as Dākṣinya-ciñha and author of the *Kuvalayamālā*, was born in the lunar dynasty (चन्द्रकुलवंशोद्भूत) and was the son of Samprati, also known as Vedasāra, the son of the famous Udyotana who was the ruler of Mahādvārā (vv 12, 16,17, 24), that he was instructed in the doctrine by Vīrabhadra and in logic by Haribhadra, the author of many good books (vv 13-15), that his guru was Tattvācārya (v 11) whose guru Vedasāra had built a fine Jaina temple in Agāsavanā (Akāśavaprā) and who was the chief among Nāga, Vindī, Bhammaḍa, Dugga and Agniśarmā, the six disciples of the world famous Yajñadatta Jñānī whose many disciples adorned the Gurjaradeśa and had built many temples (vv 10, 9, 8, 7), that the guru of this Yajñadatta was Śivacandra Gani who came to Bhinnamāla on pilgrimage (v 6), that the guru of Śivacandra was Mahākavi Devagupta who, in his turn, was the disciple of Harigupta Ācārya born in the Gupta family (vv 5, 4), that this

Harigupta was also the spiritual preceptor of Tora-rāya (Rājarājeśvara-Siri Tora-rāya[māṇa], according to the Poona MS) who ruled from the city of Pavvaiyā, situated on the banks of the Candrabhāgā (river Chenab in the Punjab) in the Uttarāpatha which abounds with scholars (vv 1-3) [32]

The historical and chronological importance of this colophon of AD 778 is obvious The author's native place Jābālipur (Jalor) seems to have had superseded Bhinnamāla as the capital of the Gurjara kings of Mārwāra Vatsarāja of the colophon is none else but the Gurjara king of that name whose great-grandfather Nāgabhaṭṭa I or Nāgāvaloka had founded the kingdom of Bhinnamāla and had extended it up to Broach He was a great conqueror, epigraphic records also speak of his glory [33] Udyotana calls Vatsarāja as "Nara-hasti" and "Para-bhaṭa-bhṛkuṭi-bhañjaka," which shows this king was also a great warrior. Another remarkable reference is to Rājarājeśvara Tora-rāya of Uttarāpatha He is said to have been a contemporary of Harigupta who was the seventh in ascent from our author, and hence would belong to the beginning of the sixth century AD The inscriptions of the Hūna chief Toramāna place him in *c* AD 480-510, which fact is also confirmed by the records of his son Mihirakula and those of Yaśodharman of Malwa [34] These Hūnas had their sway over the Punjab and were instrumental in bringing about the downfall of the Guptas But it is an irony of fate that Harigupta, a scion of the Gupta family itself, came to be the spiritual conqueror of the ferocious Hūna In fact, unlike his predecessors, Toramāṇa seems to have been a generous and tolerant king He is known to have built a temple for Nārāyana and a vihāra for the Buddhists [35] Here he is said to have been the devoted disciple of a Jaina saint Toramāna seems to be identical with the Kalki's benevolent son who tried to efface the blemish of tyranny attached to his predecessor's name Harigupta's successor, Mahākavi Devagupta, seems to be identical with the Rājarṣi Devagupta, the author of *Tripurusacarita*, as mentioned in the beginning of *Kuvalayamālā* by Udyotana himself A copper seal discovered in AD 1884 by Gen Cunningham from Ahicchatra bears the name "Mahārāja-Deva-guptasya" and on the obverse it has the well-known Jaina symbol "Puṣpa-Kalaśa " It bears no traditional Gupta symbols of Vaiṣnava significance This Devagupta is assigned to *c* AD 550[36] and probably belonged to the later Guptas of Ādityasena's line and came after Mahāsenagupta There is every likelihood that all the three Devaguptas mentioned above are one and the same person Pavvaiyā (modern Chāchera) on the Chenab[37] seems to have been a former capital of the Hūnas, which was probably

transferred by Mihirakula to Sākala (Siālkot) Akāśavaprā seems to be identical with Vāḍanagara or Ānandapur in Gujarat which was surrounded by walls only in the times of Kumārapāla (*c* AD 1157).

Udyotana also mentions in his work many previous poets and authors along with their works

Jinasena Sūri Punnāṭa is the author of the *Harivamśapurāna* (10,000 *ślokas*, divided into 66 *sargas*) in Sanskrit [38] This is one of the major, principal and early Jaina Purānas Besides giving a detailed account of the ancient *Harivamśa* and the Jaina version of the events of the Mahābhārata age, not to say of the numerous anecdotes and stories revealing India's cultural past, the work is also very valuable as a source of history The author, though a Purānakāra, is endowed with a remarkable historical sense and furnishes much useful information about himself and his times

He tells us that he belonged to the Punnāṭagana and was the disciple of Kīrtisena, a senior colleague of Amitasena who was the leader of that gaṇa He also gives the pontifical succession for the traditional 683 years after the death of Mahāvīra The above list ends in AD 156 after which Jinasena starts his own genealogy consisting of 33 gurus covering a period of about 627 years, thus giving an average of 19 years for each guru This is the first well-preserved and authentic genealogy so far discovered in literature And he gives the dynastic chronology for the first one thousand years beginning with Mahāvīra's *nirvāna* and ending with the end of the Kalki, which is in agreement with other Digambara sources relating to that tradition The author mentions a number of eminent Jaina scholars of the past like Samantabhadra, Siddhasena, Devanandi, Vajrasūri, Akalaṅka, Mahāsena, Raviṣena, Jaṭācārya, Śānta Viśeṣavādī, Kumārasena, Vīrasena guru and Jinasena Svāmi, and describes the great event of Mahāvīra's *nirvāna* with place, time, date and an account of the celebrations held on that occasion This is the earliest literary evidence specifically telling the origin of the Dīpāvalī festival and its expressly Jaina significance At the end of the work the author tells us that he began his *Harivamśa* in the Śrī Pārśva temple of the Nannarāja Vasati in Vardhamānapur and later on, proceeding to Dostaṭikā, completed the work in the Śāntināthа temple of that place in SE 705 (AD 783), and that at that time towards the north lay the dominions of Indrāyudha, towards the south, those of Śrīvallabha, the son of king Kṛsna, in the east ruled the lord of Avantī and in the west King Vatsarāja, while the ruler of the Sauramaṇḍala was Jayavīra Varāha [39]

The importance of the last mentioned piece of information has long been admitted by scholars Attempts to identify the kings and places mentioned therein have been made, but they have not proved quite satisfactory [40] In fact, unless the place of the completion of *Harivamśa* is correctly identified it is difficult to identify beyond doubt the kings and particularly the boundaries of their respective domains Of all the identifications, the one suggested by Dr Hiralal Jain appears to be the most approprite [41] He identifies Vardhamānapur with Badnāvara, a small town in the former Dhara state, situated some 40 miles west of Ujjain and Dostaṭikā with village Dostariyā 12 miles west of Badnāvara The latter seems to have derived its name from its being situated between two rivers, the Māhī and the Bagodī, on the boundary line of Gujarat and Malwa That the old name of Badnāvara was Vardhamānapur or Vardhanapura is proved by some Jaina inscriptions found in its vicinity [42] With this place as centre Indrāyudha ruled in the north from Kannauj to the boundaries of Malwa, the dominions of Malwa thus lay to the east of Vardhamānapur To its west lay the dominions of Gurjara king Vatsarāja of Bhinnamāla (with his capital probably at Jābālipur), stretching over the whole of Mārwar and Gujarat [43] In the south Dhruva Dhārāvarṣa Śrīvallabha (AD 779-93), the son of Rāstrakūṭa Krṣna I, was the sole monarch Sauramandala[44] or Saurashtra was ruled by Jayavīra Varāha The facts of contemporary history seem to corroborate this political division in the last quarter of the eighth century AD

Vidyānandi, a great logician, commentator and exponent of Akalanka's school, had been styled as the master of Syādvāda (Syādvāda-vidyāpati) He is the author of a number of important philosophico-logical works such as the *Vidyānandamahodaya, Ślokavārttika, Aṣṭa-sahasrī, Yuktyānuśāsana-alamkāra, Āptaparīksā, Pramānaparīkṣā, Satyaśāsanaparīkṣā, Pātraparīkṣā* and *Śrīpura-Pārśvanāthastotra* [45] The author gives but little infomation about himself directly, yet his works contain much valuable material which helps us to fix his own date as well as the times of a number of other Jaina, Brahmanical and Buddhist philosophers and several contemporary kings especially of the Western Ganga dynasty Thus, being a commentator and follower of Akalaṅka (*c* AD 625-75), Vidyānandi must have lived sometime after AD 700 On the other hand, being himself mentioned by Vādirāja (AD 1025), Prabhācandra (AD 980-1065) and Mānikyanandi (*c* AD 950-1000), he cannot be placed much beyond AD 900 [46]

Among non-Jaina philosophers Vidyānandi criticises and refutes the

views of not only Bhartṛhari, Udyotakara, Kumārila, Prabhākara and Vyomaśiva, all of whom belong to the seventh century, but also of Prajñākara, Maṇḍana Miśra, Bhaṭṭa Jayanta and Sureśvara, who belong to the eighth century[47] He, however, mentions no scholar of the ninth century

Jaina writers like Jinasena Punnāta, Jinasena of the Senagana, Haribhadra, Udyotana and Anantavīrya, all of whom belong to c AD 750-850, neither mention him nor are mentioned by him Hence modern scholars have generally assigned him to some or the other part of this one-hundred-year period[48]

In his *Astasahasrī*, Vidyānandi has admitted that in writing this work he was greatly helped by the advice of Kumārasena[49] And this guru finds mention in the *Harivaṁśa* (AD 783)[50]

In the colophons of four of his works, Vidyānandi alludes to a contemporary king named Satyavākya, and in one of his other works to Śivamāra, in another to Mārasimha and in yet another to probably Śrīpuruṣa[51] These names clearly indicate the Western Ganga dynasty of Talkad, which produced four Satyavākyas, viz , those of AD 815-50, AD 870-907, AD 920 and AD 977, respectively Hence the Satyavākya alluded to must have been Rācamalla Satyavākya I (AD 815-50), the son of Vijayāditya and a nephew of Śivamāra II In his *Aṣṭasahasrī*, which is definitely an earlier composition than these works, with the name of Satyavākya he alludes to Mārasiṁha, also to Dhruva Dhārāvarṣa and to the recent demise of Svāmi Vīrasena, which facts would assign this work to c AD 791-92[52] In a yet earlier work, viz , the *Ślokavārttika*, he alludes to Śivamāra who ruled from AD 777 to 784 when he fell out with the Rāṣṭrakūtas and passed the rest of his life virtually as their prisoner In his absence his son Mārasimha ruled at Talkad, at least from AD 785 to 800[53] The *Śrīpura-Pārśvanāthastotra* seems to have been written in AD 776 in the reign of Śrīpurusa (AD 726-77) and probably on the occasion when that king in that year gave a grant to that very Pārśvanātha temple of Śrīpura and to some gurus of the Nandi Samgha of the lineage of Kumāranandi and Vimalacandra referred to before[54] Probably he also belonged to the same line and was a grand-disciple of Vimalacandra and a colleague or a disciple of Parvādimalla Vidyānandi seems to have made this Śrīpura his headquarters particularly because it was close to Śṛngeri where Śaṅkara and his disciple Sureśvara were just then establishing their headquarters But it appears that the wrath of Śaṅkara and his organisation was directed against the Buddhists of the Kāñcī region alone

and not against the Jainas who, thanks to the remarkable personality, high scholarship and peaceful nature of their leader Vidyānandi (*c* AD 775-825), maintained cordial relations with the Vedāntist leaders

Svayambhū is regarded as the greatest poet of the Apabhraṁśa language He is known to have written the *Rāmāyaṇa, Harivaṁśa, Nāgakumāracarita, Svayambhūchanda* (on prosody) and an Apabhraṁśa grammar His works have been recently discovered and they have attracted the notice of scholars and elicited their appreciation [55] Svayambhū was the son of poet Mauradeva and Padminī and seems to have originally belonged to Kannauj and to have been patronized by the royal banker Dhanañjaya It appears that when in *c* AD 780 Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhruva went to the help of Indrāyudha of Kannauj against Dharmapāla of Bengal, he, on his return, brought with him the banker Dhanañjaya along with his protégé Svayambhū It is at the end of the twentieth chapter of his *Rāmāyana* that we find the name of King Dhruva mentioned for the first time [56] Thence onwards wherever he gives the name of his patron he gives it as Dhavalaiya instead of Dhanañjaya Dhavalaiya seems to have been a popular title of Dhruvarāja Nirupama (AD 779-93) Svayambhū was a householder, had two wives and several children But after his arrival in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa capital he seems to have come in close contact with Svāmi Vīrasena of Vātanagara and probably soon after the death of the latter, he himself seems to have left home and turned a monk under the name of Śrīpāla This is why he left all his works in the form of their first rough drafts which were revised, edited and here and there elaborated by his able son Tribhuvana Svayambhū who also seems to have been a great poet of Apabhraṁśa Jinasena Svāmi completed the *Jayadhavala* of Vīrasena in AD 837 and he tells us that in this work he was greatly helped by an old and veteran scholar, Śrīpāla,[57] who seems to have been none else than poet Svayambhū turned an ascetic The works of Svayambhū, besides being valuable for linguistic studies, literary merit and cultural information, mention the names of a number of Jaina and non Jaina poets of Sanskrit, Prākrta and Apabhraṁśa, none of whom belongs to later than the early part of the eighth century AD For example, he alludes to the Five Epics (*Raghuvaṁśa, Kumārasambhava, Śiśupāla-vadha, Kirātārjunīya,* and *Bhaṭṭikāvya*), to Bharata and his *Nāṭyaśāstra*, to Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin and their works on poetics, to the verbosity of Vyāsa and Bāna, to Raviṣena and his *Rāmakathā* and to the poetic excellence of Śrīharṣa The Śrīharṣa alluded to is obviously the emperor Harṣa from whose *Nāgānanda* a verse has also been quoted, and not

Śrīharṣa, the author of *Naiṣadha*, who belonged to later times On the other hand, Puṣpadanta (AD 959) who is another great Apabhraṁśa poet, mentions Svayambhū and his works with great respect

Jinasena Svāmi of the Sena Saṁgha, who was the favourite disciple and pontifical successor of Svāmi Vīrasena (*c* AD 710-90) and is the author of the *Jayadhavala* (completed in AD 837), *Pārśvābhyudayakāvya* and *Ādipurāna* or *Mahāpurāna* (incomplete), has often been confused with Jinasena Sūri Punnāta, the author of the *Harivaṁśa* (AD 783) as also with Jinasena I, the author of the *Vardhamānapurāna*, who finds mention in the *Harivaṁśa* [58] The present Jinasena is regarded as one ot the greatest Jaina gurus of that period He seems to have been adopted by Vīrasena as a mere child and to have received an excellent education at the hands of that great guru The fact that he completed the *Jayadhavala* left incomplete by Vīrasena some 47 years after the death of the latter shows that he must have been too young and immature to undertake that tremendous task soon after his guru's death He must have taken some 20 or 25 years at least to complete the 60,000 *ślokas* of the highly learned commentary From Jinasena's own works, from the statements of several other contemporary writers and from a generally accepted tradition it appears that Rāṣtrakūta Amoghavarṣa I Nrpatunga (AD 815-77) was a devotee of this saint and owned him as his spiritual preceptor [59] *Ādipurāna* is his last work which death prevented him from completing But the 10,380 verses which he has left and which do not complete even the first of the 24 parts of that great work as he had planned to write it, speak of his mastery of the Sanskrit language, his remarkable poetic talents, his historic sense and his knowledge of political geography, practical politics and other varied subjects In the colophon of the *Jayadhavala*, besides other useful information, he gives the date of its completion [60] He is certainly one of the greatest Purānakāras, and should be assigned to *c* AD 770-850

Guṇabhadra, Jinasena's chief disciple and successor, completed the *Mahāpurāna* but apparently on a much smaller scale[61] than the one originally proposed by Jinasena He seems to have been patronised by Rāṣtrakūṭa Krsna II Akālavarsa (AD 877-914) We do not know the exact date of the completion of the *Mahāpurāna* by Gunabhadra The concluding portion of the colophon at its end indicates that in Śaka year 820 (AD 898), Lokasena, a disciple of Gunabhadra and a protégé of Lokāditya, the viceroy of Bankāpur in the country of Vanavāsa, installed this great *Mahāpurāna* for public worship and recitation [62]

Ugrāditya is the author of *Kalyānakāraka*, a complete and original treatise on the science of medicine, written in Sanskrit verse and divided into two parts and 25 chapters with an appendix on the subject of fatal symptoms and yet another extra chapter at the end dealing with the uselessness of meat diet [63] The author deals with the philosophy of medicine, sketches briefly its traditional history and traces its origin to the *Prānavāyapūrva* of the original canon Yet in the treatment of the science proper he is singularly free from any touch of sectarianism and unlike some other Jaina writers on the subject, even avoids using Jaina technology He seems to be well acquainted with most of the earlier literature, both Jaina and non-Jaina on the subject and refers to or quotes from many renowned authors [64] But for him we would not have known that many of the otherwise well-known Jaina gurus of our period were also highly proficient in medicine [65] In the *puṣpikās* found at the end of every chapter, in the author's *praśasti* at the end of the book, in the Hitāhita-adhyāya (the extra chapter) and in several other passages of the work, the author gives us bits of information which help us to fix his date and residence and the identity of his patrons Thus we know that he was a pontiff of the Deśīyagana, Pustakagaccha, Pansogavalli-śākhā of the Mūla Samgha in the line of Kundakunda, and was reputed for his learning One Lalitakīrti Ācārya was his colleague, and his guru was Śrīnandi in whose establishment at Mount Ramagiri, Ugrāditya studied the science "By order of this guru Śrīnandi whose feet were worshipped by Śrī Visnurāja Parameśvara, Ugrāditya wrote his *Kalyānakāraka* for the good of mankind, on the beautiful hill of Rāmagiri which was adorned with many Jaina caves, temples and other objects of worship and was situated in the level plains of Vengī in the country of Trikalinga " The discourse on the uselessness of meat diet contained in the Hitāhita-adhyāya is stated by himself to have been delivered in the court of Śrī Nrpatunga Vallabha Mahārājādhirāja, where many learned men and doctors had assembled [66]

The Rāmagiri in question seems to be identical with the hill of Rāmatīrtha in the modern Vishakhapatnam district of Andhra Pradesh [67] In the inscriptions this place is named as Rāmakond (Kond=*giri* or mount) The Viṣṇurāja Parameśvara appears to be none else than Viṣnuvardhana IV (AD 762-99), the Eastern Cālukya monarch of Vengī, and Nṛpatunga Vallabha is evidently the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Amoghavarṣa I (AD 815-77) It appears that Ugrāditya had completed his work sometime in the last decade of the eighth century AD, and about AD 830-40 he came to Mānyakheṭa and delivered his discourse in the presence of that lover

of learning, the great Rāṣṭrakūṭa Amoghavarṣa I That discourse too was incorporated as an extra chapter in his work Ugrāditya thus seems to have lived in *c.* AD 770-840

Mahāvīrācārya, the author of *Ganitasārasamgraha,* a valuable and complete treatise on mathematics, appears to have belonged to the later part of Amoghavarṣa's reign [68] In the colophon of his work he states that this great king was a follower of Syādvāda, was devoted to the practice of religion and was of a retiring nature [69] The author seems to have belonged to *c* AD 850-80

Śākṭāyana Pālyakīrti, a great grammarian, author of *Śabdānuśāsana* along with its commentary known as the *Amoghavrtti* named as such in honour of his patron Amoghavarsa I, belonged to the Yāpanīya Samgha [70] In his commentary of one of his own Sūtras he seems to have alluded to "Amoghavarṣa's burning down his enemies,"[71] which fact is corroborated by that king's Begumara plates which speak of how he crushed the rebel Māndalikas of Gujarat in AD 867 [72] Hence the work seems to have been written in *c* AD 870 and the author to have belonged to *c* AD 850-75

Amoghavarṣa I Nṛpatuṅga, the great Rāṣṭrakūta emperor (AD 815-77) of Mānyakheṭa was not only a peace-loving and religious-minded king who patronized art and learning but was also a reputed author He is said to have written a fine didactic work named *Praśnottara Ratnamālā* in Sanskrit and a work on figures of speech named *Kavirājamārga* in Kannada [73] He was highly tolerant towards all creeds but his special leanings towards Jainism find unmistakable expression in contemporary writings At least towards the end of his reign he seems to have led the life of a pious Jaina recluse [74]

And with the close of this king's reign in the last quarter of the ninth century AD ends the thousand-year period covered by the present works as also the most glorious period of the literary history of Jainism Only a few of the most important authors of the period have been briefly discussed There are many others An examination of their works and facts about their lives may reveal many an interesting historical datum

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2 Presidential Address of A M Ghatge in AIOC, Darbhanga session
3 See *Saṭkhaṇḍāgama,* I 1 i, Introduction, also *Jayadhavala,* I, Introduction

4 जस्स सेसाण्णमये सिद्धतमिदि हि अहिलहुदी।
महु सो एलाइरिओ पसियउ वर वीरसेणस्स॥ १॥
अज्जणंदि सिस्सेणुज्जुव कम्मस्स चदसेणस्स।
तहणत्तुवेण पंचत्थूहण्णय भाणुणामुणिणा॥ ४॥
सिद्धतछद जोइस वायरण पमाणसत्थणिवुणेण।
भट्टारएण टीका लिहिएसा वीरसेणेण॥ ५॥
अट्ठतीसम्हि सासिय विक्कमरायम्हि एसुसगरमो (वसुसतोरमे)।
"पासे" (वासे) सुतेरसीए "भावविलग्गे" (भाणुविलग्गे) धवलपक्खे॥ ६॥
जगतुग देवरज्जे "रियम्हि" (रविजम्हि) कुभम्हिराहुणा कोणे।
सूरे तुलाए संते गुरुम्हि कुलविल्लए होंति॥ ७॥
चावम्हि "वरणिवुत्ते" (धरणिवुत्ते) सिंघे सुक्कम्मिणेमि (मीणे) चदम्मि।
कत्तियमासे एसा टीकाहु समाणिआ धवला॥ ८॥
बोद्दणराय णरिंदे णरिंद चूडामणिम्हि भुजंते।
सिद्धतगथ मत्थियगुरु पसायेण विगत्ता सा॥ ९॥

—Colophon of the *Dhavala*

The relevant portion which appeared to be corrupt have been given in quotation marks and their corrected versions given in brackets against them We have cast the complete horoscope and checked and verified it The date thus arrived at is Monday, October 16, AD 780 (S K Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, I ii, p 165) Herein we have differed from the editors of the *Dhavala* and the *Jayadhavala* who have taken the era used to be the Śaka era and hence believe the date to have been Śaka 738 or AD 816 We have discussed their arguments fully and have shown their assumptions and conclusions to be incorrect See "Śrī Dhavala kā Samaya," *Anekānta*, VII 7-8, pp 207-14

5 The editors of the *Dhavala* and the *Jayadhavala* have also wrongly identified the Boddanarāya of the colophon with Rāṣṭrakūṭa Amoghavarsa I, AD 815-76 See Introductions to vol I of both of them, also J P Jain, "Dhavala Praśasti ke Rāṣṭrakūṭa Nareśa," *Anekānta*, VIII 2, pp 97-101

6 See colophon to *Jayadhavala*, v 6 (Introduction), Indranandi's *Śrutāvatāra*, v 179, *Mahābandha*, Introduction, p 13, *Senagana-pattāvali*, *JA*, XIII 2, pp 4ff

7 J P Jain, "The Birthplace of Dhavala and Jayadhavala," *JA*, XV 2, pp 46-57, other scholars have, however, identified this place with either Mānyakheṭa, see *JBBRAS*, XVIII, p 226, *JSI*, p 497, *Jinaratnakośa*, p 133, or with Baroda in Gujarat, see *Jayadhavala*, I, Introduction

8 See *JSB*, XVI 1, pp 1-6, Pahārpur Insc of GE 159, *EI*, XX, pp 59-64, *EC*, II 75, pp 38, 40-41, J P Jain, *Hastināpur*

9 This too has been differently identified with Chittaladurga in Deccan or Citrakūṭa in Madhya Bhārata, but these identifications seem to be wrong To us Chittor appears to be the likely place as it was also called Citrakūṭapur and was a flourishing Jain centre in those days

10 See J P Jain, "The Predecessors of Svāmi Vīrasena," *JA*, XII, 1, pp 1-6

11 Ibid

12. Ibid
13 See J P Jain, "Pūjyapāda of the Chalukyan Records," *JA*, XIX 1, XX 1
14 See *supra*, p 124
15 जितात्म परलोकस्य कवीनां चक्रवर्त्तिन ।
वीरसेनगुरो· कीर्त्तिरकलङ्कावभासते।।
—*Harivamśa*, I 39
16 वीरसेनाख्य मोक्षगे चारुगुणानर्घ्य रत्नसिंधुगिरि सततम्।
सारतरात्मध्यानगेमारमदाम्भोद पवनगिरिगव्हरयितु।।
—*Aṣṭasahasrī*, colophon
Also see *Anekānta*, X 7-8, pp 278 ff
17 See *Mahāpurāna*, Kāśī, 1951, pt I, Introduction, pp 30-31
18 Colophon to *Uttarapurāna*, AD 898, v 6
19 See Jacobi's Introduction to *Samarāiccakahā*, *Premī Volume*, p 451, H G Das, *Haribhadra Carita* and *Jainagranthāvalī*
20 See *Anekānta*, III 4, p 289
21 Ed by Hermann Jacobi
22 Ed by A N Upahdye, SJG, Bombay, 1944
23 "समाप्ताचेयं शिष्यसहिता नामावश्यकटीका कृति सितम्बराचार्य जिनभट निगदानुसारिणो विद्याधरकुलतिलक आचार्य जिनदत्तस्य शिष्यस्य धर्मतो याकिनी महत्तरासूनोरल्पमतेराचार्य हरिभद्रस्य।"
—*Āvaśyakavrtti*, colophon
24 p 202, also see *NKC*, pt II, Introduction
25 Jinavijaya, "Date of Haribhadra," Summaries, AIOC, Poona, 1919, p 124
26 Introduction to *Samarāiccakahā*
27 उक्तच वादि मुख्येन मल्लवादिना।
28 *PJVS*, Introduction, p 149, Vidyabhushana, *History of Medieval School of Indian Logic*, p 34
29 *PJVS*, Introduction, p 150, *NKC*, pt I, Introduction
30 Ibid
31 For the first, see *Jaiselmera Bhandāra Sucī*, Baroda and for the other, the *Catalogue of Government Library*, Poona
32 अत्थ पुहई पसिद्धा दोण्णि चेय देसत्ति।
तत्थत्थि पह णामेण उत्तरावह बुहजणइण्ण।।
सुइदिअ चारु सोहा बिअसिअकमलाणणा विमलदेहा।
तत्थत्थि जलहिदइआ सरिआ अह चदभायत्ति।।
तीरम्मि तीय पयडा पव्वइयाणाम णयर सोहिल्ला।
जत्थत्थि ठिए भुत्ता युदह सिरि तोरराएण।।
तस्सगुरु हरिउत्तोआयरिओ आसिगुत्तवंसओ।
तीय णयरीय दिण्णो जेण णिवेसोतहिं काले।।
तस्स विसिस्सो पयडो महाकई देवउत्त णामोत्ति। , etc
For the full text of the colophon, see *JSB*, XX 2, pp 1-6
33 See *EI*, XII, pp 202-3, also *ASI*, 1903-4, p 28
34 See the Eran Boar inscription and the Kura Stone inscription of Toramāna,

(Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*), the Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman and the Gwalior Epitaph of Mihirakula, ibid , also see *IA*, XVIII, pp 225 ff

35 Inscriptions of Toramāna, Sircar, op cit , *CII*, II, no 36, p 158, no 37, p 161

36 See *JSB*, XX 2, pp 1-6

37 Another plausible identification of Pavvaiyā may be with Padmāvatī, or Pawaya near Gwalior, and in that case the Candrabhāgā might be identical with river Chambal

38 Hiralal, *Cat Mss* , Introduction, p 22 The work has also been published by MDJG, Bombay and Bharatiya Jnanapith, Varanasi

39 शाकेष्वब्द शतेषु सप्तसुदिशं पञ्चोत्तरेषूत्तरां,
पातीन्द्रायुधनाम्नि कृष्णनृपजे श्रीवल्लभे दक्षिणाम्।
पूर्वां श्रीमदवन्तिभूभृतिनृपे वत्सादिराजेऽपरां,
सौराणामधिमडल जययुतेवीरेवराहेऽवति।।५२।।
कल्याणै परिवर्धमान विपुलश्रीवर्धमानपुरे,
श्री पार्श्वालय नन्नराजवसतौ पर्याप्तशेष पुरा।
पश्चाद्दोस्तटिका प्रजा प्रजनित प्राज्यार्चनावर्चने,
शान्ते शान्तगृहे जिनस्य रचितावशो हरिणामयम्।।५३।।
—*Harivamsa, sarga* 60

40 See Smith, *Early History of India*, Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Deccan*, Vaidya, *Mediaeval History of Hindu India*, II, pp 101-2, Poona, 1944, Ojha, *History of Rajputana*, Dodwell, *Cambridge Shorter History of India*, p 131, Altekar, *RTT*, p 55, n 21

41 See *JSB*, XII, 2, pp 9-17 Others have indentified this place with Vadhavāna in Saurashtra

42 Ibid

43 This is also known from Udyotana Sūri's statement made in his *Kuvalayamālā* referred to above

44 Jinasena is unique in giving the derivation of this country from the term "sun worshippers" and not from Surāṣṭra as is generally done

45 See S C Vidyabhushana, *A History of Mediaeval School of Indian Logic*, *Āptaparīkṣā*, Introduction, *JSB*, XX 1, pp 1-13, *Anekānta*, V 8-9, pp 275-80

46 See *Anekānta*, VII 8-9, p 349

47 Ibid , X 3, pp 91-93, *JSB*, XX I, pp 1-13

48 Thus Mrs C Duff places him in AD 810, *Chronology of India*, Vidyabhushana in AD 750, op cit , K B Pathak in AD 750, *ABORI*, XII, S C Ghosala in AD 838, *SBJ*, XI, Introduction, and so on

49 शश्वद्भीष्ट सहस्त्रीं कुमार सेनोक्ति वर्धमानार्था ।
—Colophon, v 3

50 गुरो. कुमारसेनस्य विचरत्यजितात्मकम् ।
—*Harivamśa*, I 38

51 See the author's article on Vidyānandi in *Anekānta*, X 7-8, pp 274-88

52 Ibid
53 Ibid
54 See *IA*, II, pp 155-61, Rice, *Mysore and Coorg in Inscriptions*, p 39, *EC*, IV, ng. 85, pp 135-36
55 See *Hindī Kāvyadhārā*, Allahabad, 1945, pp 22-27, 100, *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, 1940, March-Aug , 2-3, *Anekānta*, V 8-9, pp 297-309, *JSI*, p 370, *Candābāī Volume*, pp 410-14, *JBBRAS*, II, 1935, *Journal of Nagpur University*, Dec 1935 Even Gosvāmī Tulasīdāsa in his *Rāmacaritamānasa* seems to admit the debt of Svayambhū and his *Rāmāyana* (See *Sarasvatī*, Sep 1955, p 156)
56 धुवराय धवलइय भुअप्पणत्तिणत्ती सुयाणु पाढेण।
णामेण सामिअब्बा सयभुघरिणी महासत्ता।।
57 "टीका श्रीजयचिन्हतोरुधवला सूत्रार्थसद्योतिनी स्थेयादा रविचन्द्रमुज्ज्वल तप सत्कीर्त्तय श्रीपाल सपालित "—*Jayadhavala*, I, Introduction, pp 43-44 Jinasena also mentions Śrīpāla elsewhere in his *Ādipurāna*, with respect That Śrīpāla was one of the several names of Svayambhū is evident from his works His another name was Dhavala, which is also significant
58 See *Anekānta*, X 7-8, p 276 n
59 See *MJ*, p 38, *RIT*, p 88, *Kaviacarite*, I, p 17, *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, pt 2, p 200, *IA*, XII, pp 216-17, *Anekānta*, V 5, pp 183-87
60 "इति श्री वीरसेनीया टीका सूत्रार्थ दर्शिनी, वाटग्रामपुरे श्रीमदगुर्जरार्यानुपालिते, फाल्गुनि मासिपूर्वाह्णेदशम्या शुक्लपक्षके, प्रवर्धमान पूजाया नन्दीश्वर महोत्सवे एकान्नषष्टि समधिकसप्तशताब्देषु (७५९) शकनरेन्द्रस्य समतीतेषु समाप्ता जयधवलाप्राभृत व्याख्या।"
—*Jayadhavala*, colophon
61 That is about 9,000 verses in all *Ātmānusasana* and *Jinadattacarita* are the two other works of Gunabhadra
62 Of this important colophon of the *Uttarapurāna* of Gunabhadra, the first 27 verses seem to have been composed by himself and the remaining 15 by his disciple Lokasena
63 See *MAR*, 1922, p 23, *Prasastisamgraha* (Arrah), pp 56-57, *Kalyānakāraka*, published in Sakhiram Nemichandra Series, no 129, Solapur, with valuable Introductions
64 Ibid
65 Such as Samantabhadra, Pūjyapāda, Siddhasena, Pātrakesarī, and Daśarathaguru
66 See *Praśastisamgraha* Also note the words—
"वैद्यशास्त्रेषुमासनिराकरणार्थमुग्रादित्याचार्यैर्नृपतुगवल्लभेन्द्र सभायामुद्घोषितप्रकरणम्," found at the end of the Hitāhita-adhyāya
67 Cf the author's "Ramgiri of Ugrāditya's Kalayānakāraka" in the PIHC, Nagpur Session, 1950, pp 127-33 In this paper the identifications attempted by other scholars have been proved to be wrong
68 The work has been edited, translated and published by Prof M Rangacharya, Madras, 1914
69 See Fleet, *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, pt 2, pp 200-201, K B Pathak, *Kavirājamārga*, Introduction, *Anekānta*, III 11, p 645, *JA*, XV 2, p 46, XV I, p 32

70 See *ABORI*, I, 1918-20, pp 7-12, *IA*, XLIII, 1914, pp 205-12, XLIV, 1915, pp 275-79, XLV, 1916, pp 25-27, *JSI*, pp 150 ff , *Anekānta*, III 1, p 159

71 The *sūtra* is ख्याते दृश्ये, IV III 207, and its *vṛtti* says—अदहदमोघ वर्षोऽरातीन्।

72 *IA*, XLIII, 1914, pp 205-12, also see inscription of AD 910, *EI*, I, p 54

73 Both edited and published by K B Pathak, Bombay, vide, Introduction to these works, also Alteker, *RTT*, Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Deccan*, p 95, *Anekānta*, I 8-10, pp 471-72

74 Ibid , also see *JSB*, IX I, *Anekānta*, V 5, pp 183-87

Chapter 11

The Later Political, Historical and Story Literature

JAINISM, in our period, far from being a bundle of metaphysical beliefs, was a faith that added in a large measure to the material prosperity of the land The Jaina leaders ceased to be merely exponents of dogmas and turned themselves into leaders of people and guides of princes Some of them actually adopted political life and acted as instructors in politics to kings and feudal chiefs Several kingdoms like the Gaṅga, the Sāntara, the Chāvaḍā and the Hoyasala even claimed to have been created by or at the instance of Jaina gurus It is, therefore, not surprising that they made valuable contribution to political thought as it obtained in the post-Gupta period

In the times of Mahāvīra and the Buddha there were a number of republican states and democratic federations in many parts of India But by the beginning of the Christian era the age of republics was over A succession of monarchical imperialistic states left no room for such institutions Kauṭilya, the master politician had established, in the fourth century BC, the despotic monarchical type with unlimited autocratic powers as the ideal State The doctrine of divine right of kings and the law of primogeniture were bound to be the inevitable associates of such a monarchy All the later Indian political thinkers, law-givers and Purāna writers followed the footsteps of the master and tried their best to maintain the unlimited autocracy of the king and the sanctity of his position They laboured more to enumerate his powers and to extol his rank than to detail his duties and responsibilities in relation to his subjects In their opinion his only important duty was to act as a protector of cow and Brahmins He might be capable or incapable, just or unjust, benevolent or tyrannical, thrifty or extravagant, a good man or a licentious brute, learned or foolish and even mad, but he had absolute power over his subjects and they had to submit to his will No one could interfere with his position as a king The ministers and state officers were his own paid servants and had to be subservient to him They were only to execute his orders and give him help and advice as and when he willed so

The evils of such an absolute despotism were bound to appear, as they have done in all ages and countries Indian political thinkers also did not fail to take notice of them If not a total overhaul of the system, at least a reform or a new outlook was urgently required. And the necessity was supplied, not by the Brahmanic thinkers, Smṛtikāras or Purāṇa writers, nor by the Buddhists, but by the Jaina scholars

In point of extent the Buddhist political literature is surpassed by the Jaina The method and tenets of the science of government evolved by the Brahmins in the long course of centuries were adopted by the Jainas Their works which contain political reflections belong to the age which saw the rise of Brahmanical Smṛtis and Purānas In the hands of Jaina authors the current political theories of the origin and character of government received a fresh turn of elaboration which merits attention The different Jaina *Caritra* and Purāna writers casually touched the subject in their works One of the finest presentations of the theory occurs in the *Ādipurāna* of Jinasena (*c* AD 837) who was the religious preceptor of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Emperor Amoghavarṣa I (AD 815-77) Jaṭila in his *Varāngacaritra* (*c* AD 700), Vīranandi in his *Candraprabhucarita, sarga* 5 (AD 978) and Hariścandra in his *Dharmaśarmābhyudaya, sarga* 18 (*c* AD 1000), also give brief but interesting discourses on practical politics

In the tenth century, Somadeva Sūri summed up the current political wisdom in a remarkable book called the *Nītivākyāmrta*[1] (Nectar of Political Sayings) In spite of the *sūtra* form, the very acme of precision, Somadeva has managed to combine extreme brevity with considerable perspicuity of expression In his *Yaśastilakacampū*,[2] he expounds the orthodox tenets of Jainism in a masterly fashion But as a political thinker he follows the universal tradition He mentions the author of the *Arthaśāstra* more than once He often borrows the thoughts and sometimes the very expression of the master Frequently he taps other sources and refers to Manu, Vasiṣṭha, Bhāguri, Bhīṣma, Bharadvāja, Viśālākṣa and other political writers, but his mastery of literary craftsmanship enables him to weave his various collections into a fine harmonious whole which has all the appearances of unity and originality And it must be admitted that Somadeva does often alight on a thought that is new and generally gives a striking form to what has been crudely put long before In fact, in many cases he seems to have revolutionised the current political thought, and the freshness of outlook that he has, places him in a class by himself

The work opens with an imprecatory verse[3] which is capable of more

than one interpretation, but which apparently refers to the author's teacher. It is significant that the first chapter which is devoted to religion and morality, should dispense with the usual divine commemoration, and start with homage to a worldly master It testifies to the process of secularisation that had gone so far in the political science

The first *sūtra*[4] offers a salutation to the State, because in it one finds the realisation of his religious, economic and sensual activities State is the source of religion and morality, of wealth and success, of enjoyment and happiness Would it not delight the heart of a Hegelian to find that about a thousand years before the German idealist, the Indian writer extolled the State as the *summum bonum* of human life?

The definition of religion is also so liberal that it can admit equally of an ecclesiastical as well as secularist interpretation It is the door to success and welfare, whether of this world or of the next, we are not told, but probably refers to that of both [5] And in whichever deity one places his faith it is his god [6] The State must pursue a policy of perfect religious toleration All should be allowed to pursue their respective faiths peacefully The best conduct (for all) is the one which is based on the principle of equality towards all beings [7] A person is advised to have a right sense of proportion in following his religious, economic and sensual pursuits He is not to overdo any one of them, particularly the last one, because one who neglects religious and money-making activities, and indiscriminately indulges in sensual pleasures, can hardly be ever happy [8]

The foremost duty of the State is the punishment of the wicked and the protection of the law-abiding [9] He is not a king who fails to protect his subjects [10] It is in exchange for this protection that he gets a sixth of the fruit of his subjects' labour Even the ascetics are not immune from this lawful taxation [11] Moreover, this protection is not to be understood in a negative sense only, it has also a positive side The State must not be satisfied with protecting people from outside invasions and internal wrong-doers It must at the same time devise all necessary means to promote prosperity And the foundation of all prosperity is agriculture, although trade and industry are not to be ignored [12] The existence of the State is based on regular inheritance together with valour and prowess of the ruler The State must not fail in its functions, duties and responsibilities, and must prove to be a progressive State [13]

The King, being the head of the State, must be quite fit to bear the responsible burden A real king must be the repository of all the merits that are extolled by wise men [14] And one who has knowledge and

intelligence combined with real humility is really wise[15] Then, we are told in all seriousness that the real brute on earth is an ignoramus.[16] Knowldege is the prime requisite in public affairs. Anarchy is better than the rule of an ignoramus.[17] It will be remembered that the Buddhist works, Kauṭilya, the epics, the Purānas and the law-givers alike had descanted on anarchy as the most terrible of all contingencies Somadeva departs from tradition and prefers absence of government to uninstructed rule, for, he explains, no calamity is so serious, so ruinous as a perverse king[18] Misrule is not to be tolerated in any case He denounces oppression, advocates justice and kindness and warns the State against popular indignation which should never be aroused[19] On the same principle a prince, however well born, should not be installed as heir-apparent unless he is otherwise qualified for the great trust[20] Thus for the sake of good government even the long established law of primogeniture was to be set aside This was another revolutionary idea

According to him taxation must be adjusted to the resources of the people, and government expenditure must not exceed its income Merit or fitness should be the only criterion for office[21] But no foreigners should be employed in the services, since they cannot be expected to be patriotic to the country and the State He says, love of one's own country is the highest and the most tenacious of all prejudices.[22] This shows Somadeva is also not ignorant of patriotic nationalism He is also against the military control of policy[23]

In his book, he deals at length with the requisite education and discipline of the princes, the position and functions of monarchy and the number, importance, qualifications and duties of the ministers He has something substantial to say on practically all the elements of the State—the officers (civil and military), justice, oath, treasury, taxation, army, allies, foreign policy, ambassadors, deliberations and negotiations, criminal intelligence and military espionage, defence, agriculture, trade, industry and commerce, the country and the people Besides, the work contains many precepts which relate to mundane as well as spiritual affairs and a number of maxims, moral and worldly, applicable to various walks of life Even marriage and other miscellaneous social matters are not left untouched

One of the most remarkable features of *Nītivākyāmṛta* is its elimination of the caste privilege Somadeva recognises caste and wants everyone generally to adhere to his hereditary occupation In certain passages he even seems to concede a particular sanctity to the Brahmins, but he would

treat all as equal before the law, irrespective of caste, creed, calling or rank He has certainly a higher conception of society and the State than the Brahmanic law-givers had There is no doubt that he revolutionised the then political theory and must have, to a great extent, influenced its practice in the contemporary world

Somadeva Sūri's fame as a political thinker will always rest on the *Nītivākyāmṛta,* but many of his ideas are to be found in his other work, *Yaśastilakacampū* In its third *āśvāsa* (chapter), he gives a description of king Yaśodhara and touches on a variety of political topics His diction and lucidity are admirable, but practically all he has to say here on government has been incorporated in the *Nītivākyāmṛta* Somadeva is believed to have written at least three other works which have not yet been discovered, but of them the one called *Trivarga-Mahendra-Mātali-sañjalpa* appears from its name to have touched politics, it purports to be a dialogue between Indra and his charioteer Mātali on *dharma, artha* and *kāma*

It may be noted that Jinasena and other earlier Jaina political writers must have paved the way for Somadeva and the views he expressed should be taken as representing the political thought in the several centuries preceding him Among other later works on the subject, the *Gadya-cintāmaṇi* of Vādībhasiṃha (eleventh century) and the *Arhannīti* of Hemacandra (twelfth century) may be mentioned

Historical Literature

It would be too much to expect regular history books of the modern scientific type from the authors of those times But the reproach to India's spiritual attitude, viz , that it is too much turned away from the world of facts to the sphere of thought to exhibit historical sense, has long been shown to have been wrong As Walthur Schubring has observed, "It was based upon some misunderstandings which naturally arose when India was measured with the scale found in China, Babylonia and Egypt Her sources of history often flow not so plainly by far as those of other empires of the past, but there are some where no historian would have the right to deny the existence of historical exactness It is specially Jaina authors who develop this praiseworthy quality History cannot be told more exactly than has been done, for instance, in the Jaina *Guruvāvalis* and *Paṭṭāvalis* The care with which the history of the primitive Jaina community is written by Hemacandra and other later authors is highly

meritorious Of course, the *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* (and such other Jaina works) contains much legendary bywork, but is it not the same thing in the west where nobody would think of not taking notice of our own mediaeval chronicles where history and legend so often intermingle? Seen on the whole, Jainism exhibits, if I am allowed to say so, a sober view of the world, a view which would bring together with it its clear insight into the predestined course of events A religion which is based upon the view that periods of increase and of decrease follow each other in never ceasing turnings cannot, in its historical documents, but describe the respective state of things with a calm mind "[24] And Prof Bühler, writing to Noldke in 1877 on the contribution of the ancient Hindus in the field of historical literature said, "You are a little behind the age with your notion that Indians have no historical literature In the last twenty years five fairly voluminous works have been discovered, emanating from authors contemporary with the events which they describe Four of them I have discovered myself I am on the track of more than a dozen more "[25] There is no doubt that the works referred to by Prof Bühler were the Jaina *Prabandhas* and histories Among these, in search of which he was active, was the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga (AD 1305) Prof C H Tawney, the translator of this work, was so warm in its praise that in his words, it "blunted the edge of reproach that with the exception of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* there is to be found no work in Sanskrit literature meriting the title of history "[26]

In the foregoing pages we have briefly surveyed the Jaina sources of history which are of a contemporary nature But the bulk of Jaina historical literature was produced in the several centuries following the close of our period (i e , *c* AD 900) To deal with it categorically, let us first take the *Pattāvalis* and *Guruvāvalis* There are numerous such documents relating to the different Samghas, Gaṇas, Gacchas, etc., of the Digambaras as well as the Śvetāmbaras Most of these *Pattāvalis* or pontifical genealogies-cum-chronicles, in their present form, belong to later mediaeval times (i e , fifteenth-seventeenth centuries AD) They are full of discrepancies, too, and are often not very reliable about early times But there are some, such as the Prākṛta *Pattāvali* of the Nandi Samgha, the *Pattāvali* of the Punnāṭa Saṁgha, the *Kalpasūtra Sthavirāvali* and the *Tapāgaccha-paṭṭāvali*, which belong to AD 500-900 and are sufficiently reliable. A large number of these *Paṭṭāvalis* and *Guruvāvalis* have been taken notice of and are even published. Still there are many which are lying unnoticed in the different Bhaṇḍāras and in the old establishments

of Digambara Bhaṭṭārakas and Śvetāmbara Yatis or Śrīpūjyas. A close and comparative examination of all these *Paṭṭāvalis* will not only help in reconstructing a sufficiently correct history with a detailed and exact chronology of the Jaina Samgha through the ages, but is also likely to reveal many an interesting detail about the political history of the country during those centuries

More or less similar to the *Paṭṭāvalis* are the *Rājāvalis* Apart from the traditional dynastic chronologies for the thousand years following Mahāvīra's *nirvāna*, there are a number of *Rājāvalis* which are the political chronologies or brief chronicles of events relating particularly to the rulers of Delhi They generally begin in the seventh or eighth century AD and end at the time of their respective compositions Following are the more important of such *Rājāvalis* that have come to light so far, *Dillī kī Rājāvali*—anonymous, preserved in a Guṭakā manuscript at Mainpuri It begins with the foundation of Delhi by Rānā Jāju in AD 772 (VE 829) and ends in AD 1489 in the reign of Sikandar Lodi

Dillī kī Rājāvali—anonymous, preserved in a Gutakā manuscript in the Jaina temple of Delhi. It begins with the foundation of the Tomara dynasty of Delhi, with Rānā Jāju as its founder in AD 782 (VE 839) and ends in AD 1628 with the accession of Shahjehan who is said to have succeeded his father Shah Salema

Another *Rājāvali* of Delhi in Hindi verse, composed by poet Kisandāsa, starts with Anangapāla Tomara of Delhi in AD 852

A *Vākā* or chronicle of events, by Rṣi Rūghā written in AD 1792, beginning with the foundation of Ujjayinī by Rājā Bhoja in AD 674 and ending in AD 1707 mentions the death of Aurangzeb and after him of Didarbakhsha and the accession of Azamshah at Delhi It was discovered in a Kanpur Bhanḍāra a few years ago A thorough search of the Jaina Bhanḍāras may bring to light many more such *Rājāvalis* and *Vākās*, several having been recently discovered in the Jaina Bhaṇḍāras of Rajasthan They are likely to add many yet unknown events and dates to our mediaeval history

Works like the *Darśanasāra* of Devasena (AD 933), the *Śrutāvatāras* of Indranandi (*c* AD 950), Brahma Hema (*c* AD 1175), Bibudha Śrīdhara (*c* AD 1250) and Śubha Candra (AD 1530), the *Munivamśābhyudaya* of Cidānanda Kavi (AD 1680) and the *Therāvalis* of Hemacandra (AD 1172) and Merutuṅga (AD 1306) are true histories though they deal mainly with the early history of the Jaina Samgha and of its canonical literature.

Then there are the *Prabandhas, Khyātas* and historical accounts such

as the *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* of Hemacandra (AD 1125-72), the *Prabhāvakacarita* of Prabhācandra Sūri (AD 1277), the *Prabandhacintāmani* with *Vicāraśrenī* and *Therāvalı* of Merutuṅga (AD 1305), the *Vividha-tīrthakalpa* of Jinaprabha Sūri (AD 1332), the *Prabandhakośa* of Rājaśekhara Sūrı (AD 1348),[27] the *Mūtā Nainsī-kī-khyāta* (AD 1659-65), a very authentic history of a number of Rajput tribes and kingdoms, the *Pūjyapādacarite* by Padmappa and Candrappa (AD 1792), the *Kadamba-purāna*, the *Vıjjanarāyapurāna*, the *Vettıvardhanapurāna*, and the *Hımaśītalakathe* or *Akalaṅkacarıte*, all the four by Candrasāgara Varnī (AD 1800-1810), the *Bhuvanapradīpıkā* of Rāmakṛṣna Śāstrī (AD 1808) and the *Rājāvalıkathe* of Devacandra (AD 1834)·

All these works are more or less of the same nature They purport to be religious-cum-polıtical hıstorıes, begın their accounts early in the ancıent perıod and brıng them up to the dates of theır respective completıon. In general, the different chapters of all these works present a curıous jumble of storıes and a strange amalgam of fact and fiction Hıstorıcal facts and chronological data jostle with accounts of uncanny figures flyıng through the aır or dıvıng ınto the depths of the deep They no doubt requıre patıent study, and ın spite of theır shortcomıngs as scıentıfic hıstorıes, a close, careful and comparatıve examınatıon yields such a fruıtful harvest of relıable facts, figures and dates whıch no other contemporaneous source does.

There are also some Purānıc *kāvyas* or *carıtras* whıch relate the lıfe-storıes of certaın hıstorıcal Jaına heroes of early tımes, such as the *Mahāvīracarıta of* Asaga (AD 853), the *Jīvandharacampū* of Vādī-bhasıṁha (*c* AD 1050), the *Karakaṇḍucarıu* of Kanakāmara (tenth century), the *Sudarśanacarıta* of Nayanandı (AD 1042), the *Jambucarıta* of Vīra (AD 1019) and of Sāgaradatta (AD 1020), the *Śrenıkacarıta* of Jınadeva (AD 1444), the *Bhadrabāhucarıta* of Ratnanandı (*c* AD 1600) and the *Bhadrabāhu Carıtārthasamgraha* of Jagannātha (AD 1650). These works are more of a legendary than historical character

Works lıke the *Sāsanacaturvımśatıkā* of Madanakīrtı (AD 1240), the *Vıvıdhatīrthakalpa* of Jinaprabha (AD 1332), the *Daśabhaktyādısaṁgraha* of Vardhamāna (AD 1542), the *Śatruñjaya-māhātmya* of Maheśvara (AD 1700) and the *Tīrthārcanacandrıkā* of Guṇabhadra (AD 1750) describe and give the hıstorıes of old Jaina places of pilgrimage, and hence are valuable for ancient geography

The colophons of a number of later works contain useful historical information relating to older times Many other works have sundry

references and allusions, here and there, to old times and things

A number of *Pratiṣṭhāpāṭhas* written from the tenth century onwards throw valuable light on the development of ritual, of temple architecture and of iconography relating to our period Of these the works of Vasunandi (AD 1025) and Āśādhara (AD 1178-1243) are more important

The numerous works on secular and scientific subjects written by the Jainas since AD 900, generally contain useful information which helps us to reconstruct the history and development of the various branches of Indian learning in earlier times There is hardly any subject of secular learning which the mediaeval Jainas did not touch

Lastly, numerous commentaries on important non-Jaina works were written by the Jainas The commented works include the writings of most of the important classical poets and reputed works on poetics, prosody, lexicon and grammar, on astronomy, astrology and mathematics and on medicine. Many important ancient works have come down to us either through their Jaina commentaries, recensions or redactions, or because they were preserved in some Jaina Bhandāra [28]

Story Literature

By far the most interesting branch of the Jaina literature is its *kathā* or story literature It is very extensive, varied and widespread over Sanskrit, Prākrta, Apabhramśa, Kannada, Tamil, Rajasthani, Gujarati, and Old Hindi It includes parables and fables, folk-tales and moral anecdotes, tales of romance and adventure and of animal life and supernatural beings, satires and allegories, novels and dramas, even political and historical tales There are detached stories as well as interlinked series of stories Some stories are small and some big They are written in prose or in verse or in prose and verse mixed The Jaina stories are purely indigenous and in a majority of cases quite original There are no doubt adaptations from ancient works like the *Mahābhārata* or from folklore but they have been presented clothed in Jaina garb, e g , the story of Nala-Damayantī Unlike the Buddhist writer, the Jaina story-teller was free and unhampered by religious traditions The Buddhist story invariably centres round the figure of a Bodhisattva, it was not so with the Jaina Whatever the plot, the characters or the situation might be, the latter would go on telling his tale in a lively and realistic manner, but only towards the end he would philosophise or try to draw a moral or state that the story illustrated a particular doctrine. The stories are full of

entertainment and have been very popular. Scholars like Tawney, Hertel, Bühler, Leumann, Tessitori, Jacobi and others, working in this field have traced the journey of many a Jaina tale to Europe via Arabia and Persia Many such tales have been traced in the literatures of Tibet, Indonesia, Russia, Greece, Sicily, Italy and of the Jews

Historical as the thinking of the modern mind is, it traces the history of a story or of its motives, of a thought or of an idea as far back as possible "In this endeavour," observes Dr Schubring, "Jaina literature gives a most valuable help Innumerable threads connect Jaina Kathānakas with Brahmanical and Buddhist sources—no wonder for they have grown on the same soil and the same sun has ripened them In this connection let me refer to some words of Prof Leumann who, in introduction to *Daśa-vaikālika-niryukti,* lays before us some of his results and says that a study of Jaina literature will shed entirely new light on the history of Indian literature also, a light shining forth, as concerns Jaina stories from, their intimate relations with the *Mahābhārata,* the *Harivaṁśa*, the *Jātakas,* the *Bṛhatkathā* and the *Pañcatantra* From the area of Indian studies carried out under my own direction let me relate that new investigations about the *Rāmāyana* as handed down to us on the Malayan Peninsula, make it clear to a surprising degree how vigorously the Jaina versions of the famous epic survive, in numerous motives, in the East, far from their native land "[29] In fact, it would not be too much to say that Jaina literature is intimately connected with India's culture as a whole The mass of Jaina stories, culled as it is from daily practice, contains immense material for the knowledge of Indian life as lived in the past days

The fondness of the Jainas for story-telling may be gleaned from the fact that some stories like that of Vikrama have as many as sixty different books written on it in different languages, while that of Śrīpāla and Maināsundar has got fifty books written on it in one language alone. There are several collections containing 100 to 200 stories, while there are even such collections which contain 360 stories so that the preacher might go on entertaining his audience for the whole year, daily with a fresh story. M D Desai in his *Gurjara Kavio* (Part I, Appendix) has drawn a list of 500 independent stories from ten collections

The Jainas began writing story books from about the beginning of the Christian era The *Painnas* (Miscellanea part of the canon) and the *Bhagavatī-ārādhanā* of Śivārya (first century AD) are believed to have been the ultimate sources for the bulk of Jaina stories. Jinasena (AD 837)

informs us that Kāṇabhikṣu was a very early writer of stories in Prākṛta It is just possible that he might be identical with Kāṇabhūti whose stories in Bhūtabhāṣā (Prākrta) formed the basis of Gunāḍhya's book There had been several Jaina Purāna writers also in the early centuries Pādalipta (third century AD) is also credited with the authorship of a *Taraṅgavatīkathā* From the fifth to ninth century AD, on one side the *Ārādhanā* stories were developed in the several Prākṛta, Sanskrit and Kannada commentaries of that work and on the other the Purānic literature with numerous anecdotes and side-stories began rapidly to come into existence Side by side, the stories embedded in the Śvetāmbara *Āgamasūtras* were developed in the *Niryuktis, Cūrnis* and the *Bhāṣyas* on those texts This triple literature formed the bedrock of and the source for the very extensive Jaina story literature that came to be produced from the ninth century onwards

Jaina literature is classified into four *anuyogas* or divisions—*Prathamānuyoga, Caranānuyoga, Karnānuyoga,* and *Dravyānuyoga* The last three deal with ethics or rules of conduct, metaphysics and philosophy, respectively The first section deals with traditions, history and religious fiction It is this section in which the story literature is included, that rather forms its bulk It is so named because it is meant mostly for the uninitiated or beginners or the less intelligent common folk, male and female, young and old The *kathās* are divided into two classes—the *Dharmakathās* and the *Vikathās* (or bad stories) The latter are further divided into *Rājakathā* (stories of kings and states), *Corakathā* (stories of thieves and dacoits—crime stories), *Bhojanakathā* (stories of eating, drinking and other bodily enjoyments) and *Strīkathā* (stories of women, sensual and love stories) The *Dharmakathās* generally deal with the lives and pious acts of ancient heroes and heroines Such stories generally cover several births and rebirths of the principal characters, starting from their lowest state of moral or worldly degradation, passing through crises, and eventually by following the path of religion attaining spiritual regeneration, temporal happiness and prowess and ending with eternal bliss and liberation The *Vikathās,* too, were very often turned into *Dharmakathās* by adding a moral or a bit of philosophising at the end, even if it was only to indicate that a person reaped the fruit of what he had sown

In the Jaina story literature first comes the *Ārādhanā* literature based on the *Bhagavatī* or *Mūlārādhanā* of Śivārya Of the several Prākṛta, Sanskrit and Kannada commentaries of this work, most important and

available are the *Vijayodayātīkā* of Aparājita Sūri (AD 700), the *Ārādhanāsāra* of Devasena (AD 933), the *Ārādhanāsāra* of Amitagati (AD 993-1016) and the *Mūlārādhanātīkā* of Āśādhara (AD 1178-1243) The numerous allusions to past persons and events occurring in the original text have been developed into small stories and illustrations by the commentators

The Arādhanākathā literature is built upon these skeleton stories of the *Ārādhanā* and its *tīkās* A number of scholars culled these stories, developed them fully in their respective ways and styles and produced good collections of these stories, e g , the Kannada *Vaddārādhane* of Koṭyācārya (*c* AD 800) containing 19 stories, the *Bṛhatkathākośa* of Hariṣena (AD 932), which is the most important of these collections and contains more than a hundred stories, the *Ārādhanā-śatakathā-prabandha* of Prabhācandra (AD 980-1065), a big collection in metrical Sanskrit, the *Ārādhanā-kathākośa* of Śrīcandra (AD 1023-66) in Apabhramśa and the *Ārādhanā-kathākośa* of Brahma Nemidatta (AD 1518) in Sanskrit prose A number of stories in these collections are of historical interest as well

There are several other collections independent of the Arādhanā tradition They are the *Punyāśravakathākośa* of Nāgarāja (AD 1331) in Kannada, the *Punyāśrava-kathākośa* of Rāmacandra Mumukṣu (AD 1525) in Sanskrit, the *Samyaktvakaumudī* of Nāgadeva (AD 1400) in Sanskrit and of Pāyana Vrati (AD 1600) in Kannada, the *Dharmāmṛta* of Nayasena (AD 1125), etc

Then there are the numerous *Vratakathās* developed and produced in mediaeval times They centre around religious facts, festivals and sacred vows

The Āgamic stories, apart from the *Niryuktis, Cūrnis* and the *Bhāsyas,* are found in some excellent collections like the *Kathāvalis* of Jineśvara Sūri and Bhadreśvara Sūri (both belonging to *c* AD 1200) The *Prabandhas* mentioned under historical literature also contain many Āgamic stories

The principal Jaina Purānas and a few *Caritras* had been written prior to AD 900 But after AD 900 numerous Purānas and *Caritras* were written in different languages These works, besides their respective principal themes, have numerous anecdotes, episodes and illustrative stories to tell us

There is a large number of independent works on fiction as well, more important of which are the *Dhūrtākhyāna* and *Samarāiccakahā* of

Haribhadra (*c.* AD 775), the *Kuvalayamālā* of Udyotana (AD 778), the *Upamitibhava-prapañcakathā* of Siddharṣi (AD 905), the *Tilakamañjarī* of Dhanapāla (AD 968-72), the *Dharmaparīkṣās* of Hariṣeṇa (AD 988), Amitagati (AD 993-1016), Nayasena (AD 1125) and others, the *Vikrama-kathās*, the *Ratnacūḍa-kī-kathā*, the *Śukasaptati* and the *Pañcākhyāna*

Among Jaina playwrights, the outstanding names are Rāmacandra Sūri (AD 1150-75) and Hastimalla (*c* AD 1250), each having written a number of nice Sanskrit plays

REFERENCES

1 The text of *Nītivākyāmṛta* with a Sanskrit commentary by Haribala has been published in the MDJG series, Bombay Somadeva Sūri flourished in the reign of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III He composed his *Yasastilakacampū* in AD 959 at the capital of Baddiga, the eldest son of Cālukya Arikesari He was probably patronised by the later Cālukyas of Badāmī He belonged to the Deva Samgha and was noted as a great dialectician, a poet of considerable merit and a master of Jaina doctrine and tradition
2 Published in the Kāvyamālā Series It is the first great example of the *Campū* type of literature
3 *Nītivākyāmṛta*, p 1
4 Ibid , p 7—अथधर्मार्थकामफलाय राज्यायनम ।
5 Ibid , p 8—यतोऽभ्युदय नि श्रेयस सिद्धि स धर्म ।
6 Ibid., p 86—यो यस्य देवस्य भवेच्छ्रद्धावान सत देव प्रतिष्ठापयेत्।
7 Ibid , p 9—सर्व सत्वेषु हि समता सर्वाचरणाना परमाचरणे।
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9 Ibid , p 42
10 Ibid , p 87—स किं राजा यो न रक्षति प्रजा ।
11 Ibid , p 88
12 Ibid , pp 88-90, 93-95 et seq
13 Ibid , p 52—राज्यस्य मूल क्रमो विक्रमश्च, etc
14 Ibid , pp 56-57
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17 Ibid —वरमराजकम् भुवन न तु मूर्खो राजा।
18 Ibid , p 57
19 Ibid , p 157
20. Ibid , p 56
21 Ibid , pp 185-90
22 Ibid , pp 102-4
23 Ibid , pp 136-37

24 Text of Dr Schubring's lecture at Delhi, published in *Vira*, V 11-12, pp 288-98, 1928

25 Cf *Modern Review*, Jan 1955, pp 68-69

26 Ibid.

27 Most of these *Prabandhas* have been published in SJG

28 See also A L Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, London, 1954, p 285—"We owe much to the Jaina monks' love of literature To copy a manuscript, even a secular one, was considered a work of great religious merit, and thus the old Jaina monasteries have preserved many rare and otherwise unknown texts, some of which have still to be published, and many of which are of non-Jaina origin "

29 Schubring, op cit

CHAPTER 12

Cultural Contribution of the Jainas

THE ONE THOUSAND YEARS, from 100 BC to AD 900, cover the better part of what is known as the ancient period of Indian history. It was during this millennium that Indian civilization was at its highest and its cultural progress most vigorous. Indians not only had permanent contacts and maintained communication with the outside world but also took their culture to far off lands, both in the West and in the East, Indianised the indigenous peoples of those countries, established many Indianised kingdoms and founded Indian colonies. Together with the abundance of its own resources brisk foreign trade made India the most prosperous and wealthy country in the then civilised world. A settled society that guaranteed security and leisure was best suited for thinking minds to blossom and for arts and sciences to flourish. Moreover, it was during these centuries that India attained a most perfect cultural unity. And among other causes this was all due principally to the mutual toleration and healthy cooperation of the three great religious systems, the Brahmanical, the Buddhist and the Jaina, which amicably flourished side by side in almost every part of the country and drew their adherents from almost all sections of the people. All the three vied with each other in making the life of the people nobler and happier and in enriching the national culture with the finest specimens of art and architecture, and of literature and scientific learning. No wonder, therefore, that the best and the greatest number of Jaina contributions to Indian culture belong to this period.

The most distinctive contribution of Jainism to art was in the realm of iconography. As with every thing else in life the Jainas appear to have carried their spirit of acute analysis and asceticism into the sphere of art and architecture. There are minute details, for instance in the *Mānasāra*, which show that there was a regular system of sculpture and architecture to which the workers were expected strictly to conform.[1] Innumerable Jaina images made of stone, metal and even of gems are available. As Walhouse has remarked, "The Jainas delighted in making

their images of all substances and sizes, but almost always invariable in attitude whether that be seated or standing. Most of the images belong to the Digambara sect or school, and are nude Small portable images of the saint are made of crystal, alabaster, soap-stone, blood-stone, and various other materials, while the larger are carved from whatever kind of stone is locally available."[2] At the same time, there is no period or century in the annals of Indian art for which ample material relating to Jaina religious sculpture is not available.[3] K P Jayaswal had discovered a Jaina image of the Maurya period [4] The Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela (second century BC) speaks of the setting up of an image of the Jina in Kaliṅga [5] Next in age but perhaps the greatest religious establishment of the Jainas was at the Kaṅkālī Tīlā site in Mathura It had a continued history of about 1400 years (second century BC to AD 1100), and the sculptured treasures found at this place are of the greatest aesthetic and iconographic value [6] Specimens of Jaina icons and sculptures from Rajgir (Bihar), Udayagiri (Bhilsā), Kahaum, Deogarh, Canderī, Khajurāho, and various other places in the north and from different parts of Maharashtra, Andhra, Karnataka and the Tamil countries, belonging to this period, speak eloquently of the development of the art of sculpture at the hands of the Jainas The Tīrthaṁkara images, which no doubt are the most abundant, do afford some ground for the criticism that they are uniform and give little scope for display of individual genius, but in the representation of numerous lesser deities belonging to the Jaina pantheon and of the scenes from the traditional life-stories of the Tīrthaṁkaras and other celebrities of yore the artist was not restricted by any prescribed formulae and had much greater freedom He also could and actually did give full play to his genius in carving secular scenes from contemporary life, which are sometimes marvellous, highly informative and full of aesthetic beauty The Jaina art of Mathura and of several other places abounds with such stray pieces of sculpture, including votive tablets, stone railings and bas-reliefs [7] Then, in the Jaina religious art many common elements with the Brahmanical and the Buddhist art are found and there are evidences of mutual give and take [8] Hence there is no doubt that the subject of Jaina iconograpy is of great importance for a proper reconstruction of the religious history of ancient India The quantum of available material justifies the claim of Jaina art for discussion in a special treatise

Another peculiar contribution of the Jainas, not only to the south Indian but also to the whole of Indian or even Eastern art, is the free

standing pillar found in front of almost every *basadi* or Jaina temple in south India. There are about twenty such pillars in the district of South Canara alone.[9] The Mathura Jaina Elephant Capital of the year 38 (or AD 116), the Kahaum Jaina pillar with the image of Pañca-Jinendra carved on it (GE 141/AD 460), the Deogarh Jaina pillar of the reign of Bhojadeva of Kannauj (VE 919/AD 862) and the Jaina Victory pillar of Chittor are some of the available north Indian examples. The Jaina pillars are generally known as the *Mānastambhas* and are tall and elegant structures with a small pavilion at the top on the capital, surmounted by a small dome or *śikhara*. They are quite different from the *Dīpastambhas* (lamp-posts) of Hindu temples. Walhouse remarks, "The whole capital and canopy (of Jaina pillars) are a wonder of light, elegant, lightly decorated stone work, and nothing can surpass the stately grace of these beautiful pillars whose proportions and adaptations to surrounding scenery are always perfect and whose richness of decoration never offends."[10]

Apart from these pieces of individual statuary or architectural work, the Jainas are said to have distinguished themselves by their decorative sculpture, and to have attained a considerable degree of excellence in the perfection of their pillared chambers which were their favourite form of architecture. These took various shapes and gave full play to a variety of designs, differing according to the locality, the nature of the climate or the substance available out of which to execute their artistic ideals.[11] About these ancient and mediaeval temples of south India, Logan observes, "The Jainas seem to have left behind them one of their peculiar styles of temple architecture, for the Hindu temples, and even the Mohammedan mosques of Malabar, are all built in the style peculiar to the Jainas, as it is still to be seen in the Jaina *basadis* at Mūḍabidri and other places in South Canara."[12] About the pillars found in these temples, Fergusson says, "Nothing can exceed the richness or the variety with which they are carved. No two pillars are alike, and many are ornamented to an extent that may almost seem fantastic. Their massiveness and richness of carving bear evidence to their being copies of wooden models."[13] Some of these temples have been declared by reputed connoisseurs of art as the finest specimens of ancient Indian architecture. In fact, many of the decorative carvings are so full of human interest that the austere asceticism which symbolised itself in the huge, stoic and naked Tīrthaṁkara images was more than counter-balanced by the abundance and variety of these sculptures which in a sense gave expression to the later and emotional Jainism. Another feature of Jaina art is the representation of

the *Nāga*. Snake images are very frequent about Jaina temples, particularly in Mysore and Canara And it may be said that it is the *Nāga* that binds together and gives unity to the various religions of south India.[14]

As regards cave architecture, the early Jaina monks being mostly forest recluses (*vanavāsīs*), the Jaina caves of Bihar (Barabar hill and Rajgir), Orissa (Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri), Saurashtra (Girinagar), Central India (Udayagiri and Rāmagiri), Andhra (Rāmakoṇḍa), Karnataka (Chandragiri), extreme south (Tinnemalai and Sittana-vasala), Deccan (Nasik) and other parts, situated far from human habitation, served as veritable, though temporary, refuges for the wandering Jaina ascetics But from the third-fourth centuries AD onwards the practice of *Caityavāsa* or living a more or less settled life in temples and establishments generally in or near habitation gradually gained ground It is why in the days of Ajanta and Ellora we find but few Jaina caves being built As Smith says, "The varying practical requirements of the cult of each religion, of course, had an effect on the nature of the buildings required for particular purposes "[15] Hence the paucity of Jaina caves in later times, as compared with either Buddhists or Brahmanical ones, is a strong commentary upon those who adversely reflect upon the ascetic nature of the Jaina religion The importance attached to the lay community, as well as the active part played in worldly life by the Jaina monks, must largely account for the fact that although like the Buddhists the Jainas had a monastic organisation it never attained power like that of the Buddhist order [16] According to Burgess, as against 720 Buddhist and 160 Brahmanical we have only 35 Jaina cave-temples The earliest of these belong to the fifth or sixth century AD and the latest perhaps to the twelfth. They are all Digambara and include some very fine specimens.[17]

By far the most interesting caves of the Jainas from the artistic point of view, are the groups called the Indrasabhā and the Jagannātha Sabhā at Ellora They constitute a maze of excavations leading from one into another Percy Brown says, "No other temple at Ellora is so complete in its arrangements or so finished in its workmanship as the upper storey of the Indrasabhā, all the large sunk panels between pilasters on every wall being filled with figure subjects, while the pillars, admirably spaced, and on occasion joined by dwarf walls, are moulded, fluted and faceted, as in no other instance "[18]

Almost adjoining to the Indrasabhā is the Jagannātha Sabhā, similar in general plan but smaller in size Its walls are also recessed for figure sculpture, and the pillars are richly carved in the style in which the Jaina

artist excels As Burgess says, "The architects, who excavated the two Sabhās at Elurā, deserve a prominent place among those, who, regardless of all utilitarian considerations, sought to convert the living rock into quasi-eternal temples in honour of their gods "[19]

In fact, in India rock-hewn architecture reached its highest development in the region of the Western Ghats The caves of Ajanta are the first, but "though the series at Ellora commenced nearly at the time when the excavations at Ajanta ceased, immense interest is added by the introduction of temples belonging to the Hindu and Jaina religions, affording a varied picture of the mythology of India during the period of its greatest vigour, such as is nowhere else to be found "[20] Ellora served as a veritable meeting place of Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism and perhaps is the most suitable place for a comparative study of the art developed by them [21]

Yet Ellora forms one of a group, there are other, more ancient, further south, for example, the Jaina excavations at Bādāmī, Aihole, Patany, Nasik, Dhārāśiva, Ankai and Junagarh, as well as at Kulumulu (in the Tinnevelly district) The caves of Dhārāśiva (37 miles north of Solapur) are perhaps the largest of these, and that of Kulumulu, now used by the Śaivas, is described as "a gem of its class "[22] The Nasik caves have a large number of cells or halls for the monks and indicate the existence of a large establishment and centre of learning there in the Rāṣṭrakūta period Those at Ankai, in Khandesh district, though smaller, have some very beautiful female dancing figures on petals bearing musical instruments It may be noted here that these excavations are not copies of structural buildings, but are "rock-cut examples, which had grown up into a style of their own, distinct from that of structural edifices "[23] The early Jaina caves were more in the form of natural caverns such as are found at Sittannavasal and other places in the erstwhile Pudukotta state in south India. Some of them contain polished stonebeds which are rightly believed to be *Sallekhana* beds of Jaina ascetics Inscriptions in the Brāhmī script of third-second century BC found therein conclusively show them to be *Adhisthānamah* or Jaina monasteries They were probably the places of resort for worship or penance and continued to be so till the seventh-ninth centuries AD when under the Pallava rulers of Simhaviṣṇu's line cave temples were scooped out of the rocks The cave temples on the western slopes of the Sitannavasal hill cut in the time of Mahendravarman I (seventh century AD), are resorted to even to this day by Jaina pilgrims from different parts of south India [24] From the tenth

century AD onwards, however, structural architecture begin to replace rock-hewn architecture The rock-cut style seems to have been a sort of passing episode in the architectural history of the Jainas and was dropped by them when it was no longer wanted Fine structural edifices began to be built in this period but the ruins of only a few have survived. This branch of Jaina architecture was mostly developed from ninth to fifteenth centuries AD and saw its climax in that period in the south as well as the north.

The earliest form of Jaina architecture seems to have been the stūpa The Jaina Vodva Stūpa unearthed at the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā site of Mathura has been considered as not only one of the oldest structures of that type but also as one of the earliest discovered buildings in India apart from the Indus Valley discoveries Dr Führer who superintended the excavation of the stūpa said, "The Stūpa was so ancient at the time when the inscription was incised that its origin had been forgotten On the evidence of the characters the date of the inscription may be referred with certainty to the Indo-Scythian era and is equivalent to AD 156 The stūpa must, thererfore, have been built several centuries before the beginning of the Christian era, for the name of its builders would assuredly have been known if it had been erected during the period when the Jainas of Mathura carefully kept record of their donations."[25] In fact, as J Fleet observed, "The prejudice that all Stūpas and stone-railings must necessarily be Buddhist, has probably prevented the recognition of Jaina structures as such, and up to the present, only two undoubtedly Jaina stūpas have been recorded "[26] Vincent Smith also says, "In some cases, monuments which are really Jaina have been erroneously described as Buddhist "[27]

The stūpa seems to have been a feature of the early north Indian Jaina architecture Hence when during the post-Christ centuries Jainism went on declining in the north, at the same time gaining greater and greater strength in the south and the Deccan, the Niṣadyā of Karnāṭaka type seems to have replaced the stūpa as a funeral monument These Niṣadyās or Chatrīs are often found bearing footprints of the saints in whose honour they were erected Still the practice of erecting stūpas did not altogether cease as we find evidence of their erection at Mathura, Hastināpura, etc , even in mediaeval times [28]

The Jainas did not lag behind in the realm of painting either, though perhaps their paintings did not attain the standard of the immaculate Buddhist frescoes of Ajanta. Traces of old paintings are still to be seen on the ceilings of Jaina caves at Ellora. There are also some at Kāñcīpura and Tirumalai in the south [29] Dubreuil has drawn attention to others at

Sittannavasal near Tanjore, assigned to the seventh century AD [30] These paintings are in a rock-cut temple and are akin in style to Ajanta More interesting are those of Tirumalai (N Arcot) Smith says, "The Jaina holy place at Tirumalai is remarkable as possessing the remains of a set of wall and ceiling paintings ascribed, on the evidence of inscriptions, to the eleventh century AD "[31] Traces exist of still older paintings covered up by the existing works [32]Art of mural painting continued with the Jainas even in later times and on the walls of the maṭha at Belgola there are several examples of how the chief tenets of their religion were sought to be inculcated by means of this art Symbolic representations of religious tenets, scenes from Jaina Purāṇas and even secular subjects like a south Indian king's court, and so on, were handled by the Jaina artists.[33] Miniature painting, the art of illustrating manuscripts with pictures, even writing whole stories in pictures, and calligraphy, in which also the Jainas attained a high degree of excellence, belong to later times

Another form of Jaina art developed in this period is that of inscribing on rock or copperplates, some of which are of no less artistic interest than they are of historical value The Kudlur plates of Narasimha Ganga, for example, are literature, art and history rolled in one Particularly noteworthy in it is the seal which is beautifully executed The banners of Jaina kings are also not without interest Those of Ganga Parmādi and Hastimalla indicate the stamp and symbol of Jainism, viz., the Piccha Dhvaja, described as "the banner of the divine Arhat "[34] A study of Jaina religious and mystic symbols is likely to help in determining the authorship of many an antiquarian finds and in determining the influence of Jainism on the coins and seals, and grants and ensigns of a number of ancient states and rulers [35]

The Jainas showed taste in always selecting the best views for their temples and caves At Ellora they came perhaps too late when the best sites had already been appropriated by the Buddhists and the Śaivas, but speaking of the Jaina ruins at Hampi, Longhurst observes, "Unlike the Hindus, the Jainas almost invariably selected a pituresque site for their temples, valuing rightly the effect of environment on architecture."[36] The hill originally occupied by them, south of the great Pampāpati temple, is significantly called the Hemakūṭam or the Golden Peak [37] There is also not a more picturesque spot in the vicinity than that chosen and occupied by the Jainas at Śravana Belgola, their chief centre in the south [38] Similarly, Muḍabidri, their great stronghold in South Canara, is marked by natural beauty and convenience and shows how wise the Jainas were

in choosing the site for their establishments.[39]

Other fine arts like dancing and music were also cultivated by the Jainas, as these formed part of their religious devotion and ritual. The Jaina literature, paintings and sculptures of the period have numerous representations of or references to these arts

In the field of epigraphy, the Badlī inscription of ME 84 (443 BC) is the earliest dated Indian inscription and that, too, in the Mahāvīra era The Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela occupies a unique position in the source material of Indian history for the centuries preceding the Christian era It also proves that Jainism entered Orissa, and probably became the State religion within 100 years of Mahāvīra It may also be noted that it is the first known inscription which uses the name Bhārata-varṣa (भरथवस) for our country

Next come the numerous inscriptions from Mathura of the Śunga, Kṣatrapa and Kuṣāna periods, quite a number of which are dated Vincent Smith says about them, "The inscriptions are replete with information as to the organisation of the Jaina church in sections known as Gana, Kula and Śākhā, and supply excellent illustrations of the Jaina books Both inscriptions and sculptures give interesting details, proving the existence of Jaina nuns and the influential position in the Jaina church occupied by women The plates (published by Buhler in *EI*, I) throw light, among other things, on the history of the Indian or Brāhmī alphabet, on the grammar and idiom of the Prākrta dialects, on the development of Indian arts, and on the history, organisation and worship of the followers of this Indian religion "[40] They undoubtedly contain valuable information about contemporary life, society, customs, manners, fashions and even things political

From the second-third centuries onwards up to the tenth century we have only a few inscriptions in northern India, scattered over Mathura, Bihar, Bengal, central and western India, some of which are quite important But it is the south—the Deccan, Konkan, Karnāṭaka, Andhra, Tuluva and Tamil lands—which during the next centuries abound with numerous Jaina inscriptions, on stone, images, temples and monuments, copperplate grants and other donative records They are full of valuable historical information and many of them are dated A large number of them have been published and are being utilized for historical purposes Yet quite a number of them still remain unnoticed. Without the help of these records the history of almost none of the ruling dynasties, big or small, belonging to the regions south of the Vindhyas could have been

fully reconstructed, whereas some of them owe their historical and chronological reconstruction almost wholly to Jaina epigraphic records As B A. Saletore observes, "The numerous epigraphic records and literature of Karnataka, the Telugu and Tamil lands give us an idea of the remarkable contribution Jainism made to the stability and success of many kingdoms "[41]

Coming to literature, we have already seen that the Jainas of the period cultivated the various languages current in the country From the first to the eighth centuries AD Prākrta work predominate, and the best and greatest amount of Prākṛta literature belongs to the Jainas They began writing in Sanskrit also as early as the first-second centuries AD, but it is only from AD 600 onwards that Sanskrit works begin to predominate, and there are quite a number of Jaina pieces of Sanskrit literature which favourably compare with the best in that language The cultivation of the Apabhramśa language by the Jainas also dates from about the seventh century AD, and in the period under review some of the best works in that language were produced The Jainas were undoubtedly the earliest and the greatest cultivators of the Kannada language The beginnings of the literary history of this language is traced back to the fourth-fifth centuries AD, and by the tenth century the Jainas had made it a well established literary language Similarly, about the Tamil literature it has been said that the best and largest number of the available ancient classical works in that language are of Jaina authorship [42]

The Jainas also made use of all the current literary styles, both in prose and poetry and even invented new ones such as the *Campū* (prose and poetry mixed) They did not hesitate to borrow or adopt what they thought was best in non-Jaina classical literature Epics, Purānic *kāvyas*, didactic pieces, devotional poems and lyrics, tales and stories, dramas and romances, allegories and satires—all these the Jaina writers of the period handled with success Apart from their ontological, metaphysical, philosophical and ritualistic literature they wrote valuable works on logic and dialectics, ethics and politics, grammar and lexicon, poetics and prosody, yogic sciences and medicine, mathematics and astronomy, astrology and other occult arts Here and there we get useful technical information about music, painting, sculpture, architecture and town-planning [43] Interesting information about zoology, botany, alchemy, chemistry and other physical sciences is also not wanting The Purānas, *caritras* and the commentaries on the Āgamas are full of geographical informantion which can help to identify many an unidentified site and

to locate new ones We also find names of many yet unknown kingdoms, foreign lands and non-Aryan tribes [44] The Jaina literary sources also throw a flood of light on India's inland and foreign trade both by land and sea-routes, on commerce and industry, commercial organisations and trade guilds, market conditions and economic life of the people, and on means of transport and communication There are some vivid accounts of *sārthavāhas* or inland caravans and of mercantile navigation, even of naval military expeditions [45] Lastly, the Jainas wrote valuable commentaries on a number of important Brahmanical and Buddhist works [46] This highly tolerant and cooperative spirit of the Jaina scholars helped to create a harmony in the cultural atmosphere of the times and contributed largely to the cultural unity of the country and to its all round progress which the foreign travellers visting India in those times could not but envy

The few, piecemeal and scattered attempts made by some scholars are enough to prove how Jaina literary traditions can corroborate the evidence of many an archaeological discovery, viz , the flood of Pātaliputra in the time of the Murunda kings (third century AD), the invasion and devastation of Taxila by the Turuskas (third century AD), the Jaina stūpa of Mathura, the Kalki tradition, etc [47] A perusal of the works on Greater India shows that Jaina influence as part of general Indian cultural influence can distinctly be traced in the ancient Indianised kingdoms of South-East Asia [48] Then, apart from the strictly historical and chronological data contained in Jaina sources, the Jaina literature, epigraphic records and archaeological remains help us to reconstruct vivid pictures of life and society of different parts of the country in the different periods of its ancient history

In fact, the millennium in question, particularly its latter half (fifth-tenth centuries AD) was the most flourishing period in the history of Jainism, at least in south India In those centuries Jainism had no serious militant rival and continued to bask in the sunshine of popular and royal favour There were other sects which were equally patronized Philosophical disputations and literary confutations were also many and quite hot, too, but they were always taken in a sportsman-like spirit, created no ill feelings and were generally devoid of physical persecutions India of those times knew no forcible conversions All the different sects heartily cooperated in the welfare and uplift of the nation The Jainas of the times, however, seem to have been ahead of others in many spheres For example, as Dr Altekar observes, "They seem to have taken active part in the

education of the masses That before the beginning of the alphabet proper the children should be required to pay homage to Ganeśa by reciting the formula *Śrī Ganeśāya namah* is natural in Hindu society, but that in the Deccan even today it should be followed by the Jaina formula *Om namah Siddhebhyah* shows, as C V Vaidya has pointed out, that the Jaina teachers of the age had so completely controlled the mass education that the Hindus continued to teach their children this original Jaina formula even after the decline of Jainism "[49] It may be noted that the same formula in its corrupt form *Onā-māsī-dhaina* has been in similar use in many indigenous *pāthaśālās* in some parts of north India as well The opening verse of one of Akalanka's (AD 643) works has been adopted as the *mangala* verse in many later Jaina and even non-Jaina works and inscriptions, in the latter with the only change that for the word "Jina" occurring in the original, the word "Śiva" has been substituted [50] Numerous Jaina establishments were veritable centres of learning and served as great Vidyāpīthas from which emanated the light of knowledge, which contributed to mass education and also gave specialised instruction to persons of royal families and of higher classes Food and medicine were provided for in these Jaina maṭhas and provision was also made for the teaching of Jaina scriptures [51]

In those days Jainism being a progressive and popular religion could readily adapt itself to political exigencies and take active part in rejuvenating life in the country whenever called upon to do so The practical effect of such outlook on the part of the great Jaina teachers of the period was profound, and a number of royal families like the Kadambas, the Gangas, the Cālukyas and the Rāṣṭrakūtas, came one after the other sometimes as champions and always as benevolent patrons of Jainism The ministers, generals, feudatories and commercial magnates of these rulers followed suit Dr Saletore says, "Jainism in short received universal patronage from all ranks of people And the leaders in turn reciprocated the trust and reverence which the princes and people reposed in them by contributing in a large measure to the philosophy, literature and arts of the country "[52] In fact, as Dr Altekar observes, "It is very probable that at least one-third of the total population of the Deccan of our period was following the gospel of Mahāvīra "[53] The influence of religion is estimated by the result it produces on the character of the people And "It is gratifying to find," says Altekar, "that the Arab merchants of the age, in spite of their religious differences pay as high a compliment to the Indian character as was paid by Megasthenes and

Yuan Chwang "[54] He further remarks, "It must be remembered that Jainism preaches the doctrine of Ahiṁsā in a more extreme form than Buddhism, and yet the history of the Deccan of our period shows that it had no emasculating effects upon its followers "[55] Citing a number of examples of the great Jaina men of war he goes on to say, "In the face of the achievements of Jaina princes and generals of our period, we can hardly subscribe to the theory that Jainism and Buddhism were chiefly responsible for the military emasculation of the population that led to the fall of Hindu India "[56] There is ample evidence to show that the Jainas in large numbers used to enlist in the army and distinguish themselves on the battlefield [57]

Jainism had gradually popularised itself to such an extent that there was left little outward difference in the rituals, modes of worship and religious celebrations between itself and Hinduism Often in the same temple Jaina and Brahmanical and even Buddhist gods were installed side by side [58] Jaina pontiffs like Jinasena Svāmi (AD 770-850) deviated from the orthodox path in adopting many rules and practices enjoined by the Brahmanical Dharmaśāstras and in prescribing them for the Jainas as well Wide and sympathetic toleration was the characteristic of the age It seemed as if the people had realised that there was no cultural difference between the different prevailing religions and that an individual might follow any one of them or make a combination of the acceptable elements of any one or more of them as suited his temperament, somewhat in the manner of a modern man of culture who does not realise any inconsistency in simultaneously becoming a member of different social, cultural and political societies A certain amount of feeling was no doubt exhibited in philosophical writings and verbal disputations, but even in these behind the superficial clash there was an inner movement of synthesis Even the revival of Brahmanism did not affect the fortunes of Jainism for a considerable time, due firstly to royal patronage under a number of ruling families including their official, feudal and mercantile nobility and secondly due to the influence of the work and achievements of a host of illustrious Jaina saints and authors

Ahiṁsā in all its positive implications, self-abnegation and asceticism were very popular. No Vedic sacrifices are heard of in this period The Aśvamedha *yajñas* of the early Kadambas and Pallavas, too, seem to have been performed without the accompaniment of animal scarifice and in later times even such token *yajñas* were given up Even Kumārila's advocacy did not attract people And in spite of Śankara's teachings, the

Brahmanical form of sannyāsa did not gain any popularity in those days The age marked a phenomenal decline of Buddhism, due, among other causes, to Śankara's vehement attacks (*c* AD 800) against it Hence the Samānis (Śramanas) and Sannyāsins whom the Arab merchants and travellers like Sulaiman and Al-Idrisi visiting India in the early mediaeval times saw, must have been Jaina Śramanas or Munis These Jaina ascetics were no more forest recluses nor were they like the Śaiva Mahantas or later Jaina Bhaṭṭārakas both of whom were Sannyāsins merely in name and lived the life of rich landlords and property-owners They were, on the other hand, selfless, possessionless and sincere servants of religion, Sarasvatī and humanity They lived in temples or *basadis* or in bigger establishments, and freely mixed with the people They acted as spiritual guides, confessors, teachers, sympathetic advisers, physicians and even astrologers They inspired philanthropic acts and charities, encouraged arts and cultivated literature, both religious and secular They inspired love and respect, and all classes of people, both men and women, considered it an essential daily duty to honour the guru, serve his needs, obey his injunctions and follow his advice Worship of the gods, serving the guru, reading the scriptures, self-control, penances and charities constituted the sixfold essential daily religious routine of every member of the laity The guru was the living embodiment of dharma and served all the purposes of the daily religion of the devotee And the guru's greatest and unceasing insistence was on the performance of *Caturvidhadāna* by every devottee to the latter's utmost capacity This act of utmost yet common piety consisted in supplying food and other necessaries of life to the guru, food and protection to the destitute, protection of life to all living beings, medicine and medical aid to the needy, and means of education and knowledge in the form of scriptures, books, schools, colleges and scholarships to all The system thus fulfilled all the higher philanthropic, humanitarian, moral and intellectual needs of the society, and no wonder it was popular with all classes of people [59]

Numerous Jaina works of the time shed valuable light on contemporary life and society A few attempts have already been made to portray it on the basis of some of these sources [60] There is ample scope for many more such attempts From the Jaina story literature of the seventh-ninth centuries AD "the general impression one gets of the life and times is one of peace and plenty The variety of eatables, the number of pastimes and the richness of costumes all bear eloquent testimony to this. In this age of leisure and abundance people lived vigorously. There is certainly

no lack, in some sections, of vices which such a life naturally produces. Hating poverty as a sin and making work a sacred duty, each unit was engaged in its specified occupation, though agriculture was in the main, most important. A belief in ultimate justice legal or natural, was strangely combined with the beliefs in such things as astrology, witchcraft and the science of medicine Socially and politically they were well organised though both were founded on a strong religious bias. The institution of *śreṣṭhī* (head-merchant) had its significant place in their society In short, life was varied, plentiful, vigorous with strong prejudices and native frailties "[61] Some of the works give vivid pictures of feudal life as also of the inner life of royal palaces [62] And the Jaina didactic literature of the period is remarkably expressive of a hunger and thirst after righteousness A strong sense of moral obligation, an earnest aspiration for good, a fervent and unselfish charity and generally a loftiness of aims that are very impressive, pervade a number of these Jaina ethical works and they must have been important factors in shaping the character and ideas of the people

To conclude, it may be observed that Jainism, Jaina art and literature and all other Jaina contributions to Indian culture as also the Jainas themselves of the past or the present do not stand isolated They are an inalienable part and parcel of India and whatever it stands for It would be suicidal to ignore Jaina things as something alien or merely sectarian, and it would only be proper to study them in the background of Indian religion, culture and history as a whole with a catholicity of outlook, unbiased approach and balanced judgement There was a time when lack of information and paucity of material stood in our way But since the last quarter of the nineteenth century when the oriental scholars first got access to the Jaina Bhaṇḍāras, due to the efforts of some provincial governments, the keen interest taken by some Western universities in Indological studies, the untiring zeal of some individual scholars and the contagion caught by a number of Jaina workers in the field and by some Jaina institutions, a large number of Jaina manuscripts have been brought to light Many of them have been collected and catalogued by experts The reports prepared by Bhandarkar, Peterson, Hiralal and others contained such a rich harvest of new material that many scholars have come to be interested in the study of Jaina literature and chronology as part of Indian literature and history The tendency is gathering strength and momentum as more and more new Bhaṇḍāras are being ransacked, new manuscripts found and standard editions of important texts pub-

lished. Jaina inscriptions, antiquarian remains and monuments had begun to be taken notice of even earlier and their value duly assessed Attempts at correlation of literary, epigraphic and archaeological evidence have started And the work done in this direction has disproved the charge that used to be levelled against Indian literature in general that it was wanting in historical facts and chronological data The details about many Jaina authors and their contemporaries and predecessors already brought to light by Buhler, Bhandarkar, Peterson, etc , from literary sources, by Rice, Narasimhachar and others from epigraphic sources and by some scholars even from archaeological and other historical sources were not only reliable but proved also to be valuable landmarks in Indian history and literature The work which has subsequently been done in these directions has not only confirmed the above conclusions but has widened the scope of possibilities which will take long to be fully exhausted As V Smith once remarked, "The field of exploration is vast In olden days the creed of Mahāvīra was far more widely diffused than it is now In the seventh century AD, for instance, the creed had numerous followers in Vaiśālī (north of Patna) and in eastern Bengal, localities where its adherents are now extremely few I have myself seen abundant evidences of the former prevalence of Jainism in Bundelkhand during the mediaeval period especially in the eleventh-twelfth centuries Jaina images in the country are numerous in places where a Jaina is now never seen Further south, in the Deccan and the Tamil countries, Jainism was, for centuries, a great and ruling power in regions where it is now almost unknown "[63]

Hence the urgent need of finding out, collecting, coordinating and publishing Jaina materials of history and their importance as valuable sources for the history of ancient India cannot be denied They at least constitute a body of important corroborative and supplementary material in general, though they do not altogether want in absolutely new facts and throw light on certain hitherto undiscovered aspects and are generally rich in chronological data

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43 On music see Dr V Raghavan in *JSB*, VII 1, pp 19-21, H R Kapadia in *Jour Or Inst* , Baroda, II 8, on architecture, etc , see Motichandra in *JSB*, XIX 2, pp 6-18
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45 Cf K D Bajpai, *Bhāratīya Vyāpāra kā Itihāsa*, 1951, also see Motichandra's Introduction to the same
46 P C Nahar in 1935 mentioned 150 such Jaina commentaries, *JSB*, II 1, pp 32-41, since then many more have come to light
47 Cf *Pernī Volume*, pp 227-49
48 For instance, in those lands vegetarianism predominated and animal sacrifice was almost unknown, their year was *Kārtikādi* like that of the Jainas, it is the Jaina version of the *Rāmāyana* that was popular there, some of the inscriptions are found alluding to certian Jaina things, viz , Tīrthamkara Pārśva, the Jaina work *Kalyānakāraka* and so on, cf *JSB*, XVII 2, pp 101-4
49 Altekar, *RTT*, p 309
50 Cf *JA*, III 4, pp 107-8 It can help us in putting an earlier limit to the age of some of the undated records using this *maṅgala*
51 Cf *JBBRAS*, X, p 237
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54 Ibid , p 314, For Al-Idrisi's observations, see Elliot, I, p 88
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59 Benoy Kumar Sarkar has classified these four gifts under the term "Positivism of the Jainas" in his *Creative India from Mohenjodaro to the Age of Ramakrishna-Vivekananda*, Lahore, 1937, pp 41-44
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63 Cf *Modern Review*, 1915, pp 519-22

Appendix A

Dynastic Chronology from Mahāvīra's Nirvāna to ME 1000

According to the *Tiloyapannatti*[1]—

(a) The Śaka king came in ME 461 or (according to another tradition) in ME 605

(b)

The Śaka king came in ME	461 years
His dynasty ruled for	242 years
The Guptas	255 years
Caturmukha Kalki	42 years
Total	1,000 years

(c) Simultaneously with the *nirvāna* of Mahāvīra, Pālaka, the son of (the lord of) Avantī was crowned

Pālaka	60 years
The Vijayavamśa	155 years
The Marudayavamśa	40 years
Puṣyamitra	30 years
Vasumitra and Agnimitra	60 years
The Gaddava dynasty	100 years
Nahavāhana	40 years
The Bhacchaṭṭhanān	242 years
The Guptas	231 years
Caturmukha Kalki, son of Indra	42 years
Total	1,000 years

(d)

The Ācārāṅgadhārīs lasted till ME	683 years
Kalki was crowned after an interval of	275 years
and he ruled for	42 years
Total	1,000 years

Benevolent rule of Kalki's son, Ajitañjaya	2 years

After every 1,000 years a Kalki is born and after every 500 years an Upakalki

The dynastic list according to Jinasena's *Harivamśa* (AD 783) is[2]

Pālaka	60 years
The Vijaya kings	155 years
The Murundas	40 years
Puṣyamitra	30 years
Vasumitra and Agnimitra	60 years
The Rāsabha kings	100 years
Naravāhana	40 years
The Bhaṭṭavānas	242 years
The Guptas	231 years
Kalki	42 years
Total	1,000 years

Then ruled Ajitañjaya at Indrapura, 605 years and 5 months after Mahāvīra's *nirvāna* rose the Śaka king Beginning from Mahāvīra's *nirvāna* after every 1,000 years an anti-religious Kalki will be born

It would be seen that this list of the *Harivamśa* is almost identical with the corresponding list of the *Tiloyapannati*, the individual periods as also the total are the same,, but names of some kings or dynasties are differently spelt, e g , Muruṇḍas for Marudaya, Rāsabha for Gadavvas, Bhaṭṭavāna for Bhacchaṭṭhaṇān (Bhadra Caṣṭanas)

Almost the same list is repeated in the *Dhavala* (AD 780), the *Jayadhavala* (AD 837), the *Uttarapurāna* (AD 898), the *Trilokasāra* (AD 973) and other Digambara works

The corresponding Śvetāmbara tradition is contained in the *Titthogālipainna*, an old Prākṛta text[3]

Pālaka	60 years
The Nandas	150 years
The Mauryas	160 years
Puṣyamitra	35 years
Balamitra and Bhānumitra	60 years
Nabhasena	40 years
The Gaddabhas	100 years
Total	605 years

Then came the Śaka king, 605 years and 5 months after Mahāvīra's *nirvāna*

The *Tīrthoddhāraprakarana* and the *Tapāgacchapattāvali* [4] give the list as·

Pālaka	60 years
The Nandas	155 years
The Mauryas	108 years
Puṣyamitra	30 years
Balamitra and Bhānumitra	60 years
Nahavarana	40 years
Gaddabhilla	13 years
The Śakas	4 years
Total	470 years

Then came the Vikrama

Merutunga in his *Vicāraśrenī* (AD 1304) gives an almost identical list with the addition that Vikrama and his dynasty ruled for 135 years, after which, or 605 years after Mahāvīra's *nirvāna,* came the Śaka king who displaced the dynasty of Vikramāditya [5]

Almost the same list is repeated in the *Prabhāvakacarita* (AD 1277), the *Vividha-tīrthakalpa* (AD 1332) and other Śvetāmbara works Only Hemacandra in one place happens to observe that Candragupta came to the throne in ME 155 [6] In this he disagrees from all other sources and has thus caused some confusion About the Nanda coming in ME 60[7] he is in agreement with all others That the Pālaka mentioned in the lists was the son of King Canda Pradyota of Ujjayinī and that in the period of 60 years allotted to him Kunika and Udāyi were ruling at Pātaliputra is also corroborated by some other sources [8] In connection with these dynastic chronologies it may, however, be noted that it is not correct to treat them as referring to the kings of Magadha All kings and dynasties mentioned in them are definitely known to be connected with central and western India, particularly Ujjayainī Of course, some of them ruled over a big empire covering other parts of India including Magadha It may be useful to estimate the truth underlying these traditions by comparing them with other Jaina chronological traditions and also with the Purānic and Buddhist traditions bearing on them

We must also remember, as pointed out by Meruturiga,[9] that in

these traditions a complete dynastic list in each case is not given and sometimes only a certain important king is mentioned and under his name total reign of the whole dynasty is given It is also quite possible that in several cases the total reign periods may not prove to be the exact periods relating to Ujjayinī but may include periods before or after the respective rule lasted over Ujjayinī This would help to explain some of the discrepancies

REFERENCES

1 (अ) वीर जिणे सिद्धिगदे चउसद-इगिसट्ठि वास परिमाणो।
कालम्मि अदिक्कते उप्पण्णो एत्थ सगराओ।। ८६।।
णिव्वाणे वीर जिणे छव्वास सदेसु पचवरिसेसु।
पणमासेसु गदेसु सजादो सगणिओ अहवा।। ८९।।

(ब) णिव्वाणगदे वीरे चउसद इगिसट्ठि वासविच्छेदे।
जादोय सगणरिंदो रज्ज वस्सस्स दुसय बादाला।। ९३।।
दोण्णिसदा पणवण्णा गुत्ताण चउमुहस्स बादालं।
वस्सं होदि सहस्स केई एव परूवती।। ९४।।

(स) ज काले वीर जिणो णिस्सेयस सपय समावण्णो।
तक्काले अभिसित्तो पालयणामो अवंतिसुदो।। ९५।।
पालक रज्ज सट्ठिम् इगिसय पणवण्ण विजयवसभवा।
चाल मरुदयवसा तीस वसा सु पुस्समित्तंमि।। ९६।।
वसुमित्त अग्गिमित्ता सट्ठी गद्दव्वया वि सयमेक्कं।
णहवाहणो य चाल तत्तो भच्छट्ठणा जादा।। ९७।।
भच्छट्ठणाण कालो दोण्णि सयाइ हवंति बादाला।
तत्तो गुत्ताताण रज्जे दोण्णि सयाणि इगितीसा।। ९८।।
तत्तो कक्की जादो इदसुदो तस्स चउमुहो णामो।
सन्तरिवरिसा आऊ विगणिय इगिवीस रज्जत्तो।। ९९।।

(द) आचारगधरादो पणहत्तरि जुत्तदुसय वासेसु।
वोलीणेसुं बद्धो पट्टो कक्कीस णरवइणो।। १००।।
अहसाहियूण कक्की णियजोग्गे जणपदे पयत्तेण।
सुक्क जाचदि लुद्धो पिक्क जावतावसमणाओ।। १०१।।
अह के वि असुरदेवा
तक्कक्की मारेदि हु धम्मदोहित्ति।। १०३।।
कक्किसुतो अजिदंजयणामो
धम्मे रज्ज करेज्जंति।। १०४।।
तत्तो दोवे वासो सम्मधम्मोपयट्ठदि जणाणं ।। १०५।।
एव वस्स सहस्से पुह कक्की हवेइ एक्केको।
पचसयवच्छरेसुं एक्केको तहय उवक्की।। १०६।।

—*Tiloyapannati*, चतुर्थ महाधिकारः

2 वीर निर्वाण काले च पालकोऽत्राभिषिच्यते।
लोकेऽवंति सुतो राजा प्रजानाम् प्रतिपालकः।।
षष्ठिवर्षाणि तद्राज्यं ततोविजयभूभुजाम्।
शतं च पच पचाशद् वर्षाणि तदुदीरित।।
चत्वारिंशन्मुरुण्डानाम् भूमण्डलमखण्डितम्।
त्रिंशत् पुष्यमित्राणां षष्टिर्वस्वाग्निमित्रयो.।।
शतरासभ राजाना नरवाहनमप्यतः।
चत्वारिंशत्ततो द्वाभ्या चत्वारिंशच्छतद्वय।।
भट्टवाणस्य तद्राज्यागुप्ताना च शतद्वय।
एक विंशश्च वर्षाणि काल विद्भि रुदाहत।।
द्विचत्वारिंशदेवात कल्किराजस्य राजता।
ततोऽजितजयो राजा स्यादिन्द्रपुर संस्थित.।।
वर्षाणा षट्शतीं त्यक्त्वा पचाग्रमास पचकम्।
मुक्तिम् गते महावीरे शकराजस्ततोऽभवत्।।
मुक्तिम् गते महावीरे प्रतिवर्ष सहस्त्रक।
एकैको जायते कल्की जिनधर्म विरोधक.।।

—*Harivaṁśa, sarga* 60, vv 487-92, 551-52

3 जरयणि सिद्धिगओ अरहा तित्थकरो महावीरो।
तरयणि अवतीए अभिसित्तो पालओ राया।। ६२०।।
पालगरण्णो सट्ठी पुणपण्णसय वियाणि नन्दाण।
मुरियाण सट्ठिसयं पुणतीसा पुस्समित्ताण।। ६२१।।
बलमित्ता भाणुमित्ता सट्ठा चत्ता यहोंति नहसेणो।
गद्दभसयमेगं पुण पडिवन्नो तो सगोराया।। ६२२।।
पचमासा पच य वासा छच्चेवहोंतिवाससया।
परिनिव्वु अस्सऽरि हतो तो उप्पन्नो सगोराया।। ६२३।।

—*Titthogālipainna-paṭṭāvalisamuccaya*, p 197

4 जंरयणि कालगओ अरिहा तित्थकरो महावीरो।
तं रयणिं अवणिमवंतिवई अभिसित्तो पालओराया।। १।।
सट्ठी पालगरण्णो पण वण्ण सयतु होई णंदाण।
अट्ठसय मुरियाण तीसच्चिअपूसमित्तस्स।। २।।
बलमित्ता भाणु मित्ता सट्ठिवरसाणि चत्त नरवहणो।
तहगद्दभिल्ल रण्जो तेरस वरिसा सगस्स चउ।। ३।।

—*Tapāhgacchapaṭṭāvali*

5 जरयणि कालगओ अरिहातित्थकरो महावीरो।
तं रयणिमवंतिवई अहिसित्तो पालगो राया।।
(वीर निव्वाण रयणीओ चडपज्जोय राय पट्टम्मि।।
उज्जेणीए जाओ पालय नामा महाराया।।)
सट्ठी पालगरन्नो पणवन्न सयतु होइ नन्दाण।
अट्ठसय मुरियाणं तीसच्चिअ पूसमित्तस्स।।

बलमित्त भाणुमित्ताण सट्ठिवरिसाणि चत्त नहवहणे।
तहगद्दभिल्ल रज्ज तेरस वासे सगस्स चउ।।
विक्कमरज्जाणतर सतरसवासेहिं वच्छुरपवित्ती।
सेसपुण पणतीस सय विक्कम कालम्मिय पविट्ठ।।
विक्कम रज्जा रभा परओ सिरि वीर निव्वुई भणिया।
सुन्न-मुणि-वेयजुत्तो विक्कमकालाउ जिणकालो।।
श्री वीर निवृत्तेर्वर्षै· षड्भि पचोत्तरै शतै·।
शाकसवत्सरस्येषा प्रवृत्तिर्भरतेऽभवत्।।

—*Vicāraśreni*

6 एव च श्री महावीर मुक्तेर्वर्षशते गते।
पच पचाशदधिके चन्द्रगुप्तोऽभन्नृप ।

—*Parisistaparvan*, VIII 339

7 अनन्तर वर्द्धमान स्वामि निर्वाण वासरात्।
गताया षष्ठि वत्सर्यामेष नन्दोऽभवन्नृप ।

—Ibid , VI 243

8 सिरिजिण णिव्वाण गमणरयणीए उज्जेणीए
चडपज्जो अ मरणे पालओ राजा अहिसित्तो।
तेणय अपुत्त उदाइमरणे कोणिअ रज्ज
पाडलिपुर पि अहिट्ठिअ।

—Cf *Pattāvalisamuccaya*, p 17

9 इह यदा यो राजा ख्यातिमानभूत्,
तदा तस्य राज्य गण्यते,
न तु पट्टानुक्रम ।

—*Vicāraśreni*

APPENDIX B

Pontifical Genealogy of Mahāvīra's Successors

The Digambara Tradition

Group	No.	Name	Years	Note
I	1	Gautama	12 years	Total of 62 years for
	2	Sudharmā	12 years	group I of the three
	3	Jambu	38 years	Kevalins
II	4	Nandi	14 years	Total of 100 years for
	5.	Nandimitra	16 years	group II of the five
	6	Aparājita	22 years	Śrutakevalins
	7	Govardhana	19 years	
	8	Bhadrabāhu I	29 years	
III	9	Viśākha	10 years	Total of 181 years for
	10	Proṣṭhilla	19 years	group III of the
	11	Kṣatriya	17 years	eleven Daśapūrvadharas
	12	Jaya	21 years	
	13	Nāga	18 years	
	14	Siddhārtha	17 years	
	15	Dhrtisena	18 years	
	16	Vijaya	13 years	
	17	Buddhila	20 years	
	18	Gangadeva	14 years	
	19	Sudharma	14 years	
IV	20	Naksatra	18 years	Total of 123 years for
	21	Jayapāla	20 years	group IV of the five
	22	Pāndu	39 years	Ekādaśāngadhārīs
	23	Dhruvasena	14 years	
	24	Kansārya	32 years	
V	25	Subhadra	6 years	Total of 99 years for
	26	Yaśobhadra	18 years	group V of the ten,
	27	Bhadrabāhu II	23 years	nine and eight
	28	Lohācārya	52 years	Angadhārīs
VI	29	Arhadbali	28 years	Total of 118 years for
	30	Māghanandi	21 years	group VI of the five

31	Dharasena	19 years	Ekāṅgadhāris
32	Puṣpadanta	30 years	
33	Bhūtabali	20 years	

Simultaneously with the last group the four Ārātīya Yatis who had partial knowledge of parts of the canon and who were named as Vinayadhara, Śrīdhara, Śivadatta and Arhadatta, are said to have lived

This genealogy has been preserved in the *Tiloyapannati* (*c* AD 176), the *Jambudvīpa-prajñaptisamgraha* (*c* AD 700), the *Dhavala* (AD 780), the *Harivamśa* (AD 783), the *Jayadhavala* (AD 837), the *Uttarapurāna* (AD 898), the *Trilokasāra* (AD 973), the *Śrutāvatāras* (*c* AD 950-1250), the several *Pattāvalis* of the Nandi, Sena, Kāṣṭhā Samghas, etc , and some other works, as also in a number of inscriptions, particularly at Śaravana Belgola, belonging to early mediaeval times

All these sources are in perfect agreement as to the fact that this succession lasted till 683 years after Mahāvīra's *nirvāna,* that up to this time the direct canonical knowledge, though gradually declining in volume, continued to be preserved in the memory of these gurus and that it was about this time that the redaction of the surviving canonical knowledge was undertaken as the Jaina canons for the first time appeared in book form

There are slight differences as to certain names or their spellings, in some sources one or two names are omitted and in some others a few names are interchanged and their order reversed Some sources also differ as regards the extent of knowledge preserved by groups V and VI All the sources generally stop at the Twenty-eighth guru (i e , Lohācārya), divide these 28 gurus into the five groups as shown in the genealogy, give the total period of each group and make the grand total equal to 683 years But the *Pattāvalis* of the Nandi Samgha, particularly its Prākṛta *Pattāvali* which is quite an old document, gives the total period for the 5 gurus of group IV as 123 years whereas the other sources give it as 220 or 222 years, and while this *Pattāvali* allots 99 years to group V, they allot 118 years to it Some of the sources place the gurus of group VI simultaneously with group V, some place them soon after ME 683 and some others are vague on this point The said *Pattāvali* is also unique in this respect that it gives separate years for individual gurus as well, which fact also indicates the possibility of its being more correct Hence in the pontifical genealogy given above this Prākṛta *Pattāvali* of the Nandi Samgha has been taken as

the standard. A manuscript of the *Pattāvali* is preserved in the Central Jaina Oriental Library, Arrah, and it has also been published (*JSB*, I 4, pp 7-74)

The Śvetāmbara Tradition

1	Gautama	12 years	Total of 62 years for
2	Sudharmā	8 years	the three Kevalins
3	Jambu	42 years	
4	Prabhava	11 years	Total of 116 years for
5	Svayambhava	23 years	the five Śrutakevalins
6	Yaśobhadra	50 years	
7	Sambhūtavijaya	8 years	
8	Bhadrabāhu	24 years	
9	Sthūlabhadra		ME 170-215 Last Catur-daśapūrvī
10	Ārya Mahāgiri		ME 215-46
11	Ārya Suhasti		ME 245-91
12	Supra or Susthita		ME 291-319
13	Indradinna or Kālaka I		ME 325
14	Priyagrantha		
15	Vrddhavādi		
16	Dinnasūri, Kālaka II		ME 453
17	Simhagiri		
18	Vajrasvāmi—last Daśapūrvī, died in ME 598		
19	Vajrasena—in his time the schism was finalised (ME 609)		

This genealogy is preserved in a number of Śvetāmbara *Pattāvalis* relating to their different Samghas and Gacchas and in several other works like the *Kalpasūtra Therāvali*, Hemacandra's *Pariśistaparvan*, Merutunga's *Therāvali* and *Prabhāvakacarita*. The more important *Pattāvalis* have been collected and published by Muni Darśanavijaya in the *Pattāvalisamuccaya*. There are numerous discrepancies in these sources, particularly as regards the dates of these gurus. Whatever is given above is the generally accepted view

APPENDIX C

Chronology
(100 BC-AD 900)

527 BC—Mahāvīra's *nirvāna* and the commencement of Mahāvīra Era

c 150 BC—The Council of Jaina monks convened by Khāravela at the Kumārī Parvata in Orissa, beginnings of the Sarasvatī movement

74 BC (ME 453)—Kālaka II

74-61 BC—Gardabhilla Mahendrāditya, king of Ujjayinī

66 BC (ME 461)—First entry of the Śakas into the Ujjayinī region, and the commencement of the Earlier Śaka Era

61 BC—Final defeat and expulsion of Gardabhilla from Ujjayinī at the hands of the Śakas

57 BC (ME 470)—Expulsion of the Śakas by the Mālava people under Vikrama Commencement of the era known as Krta, Mālava or Vikrama

*53 BC—Mathura Jaina inscription of Year 4 (*EI*, II 201).

*52 BC—Mathura Jaina inscription of Year 5 (ibid , III 12)

*39 BC—Mathura Jaina inscription of Year 18 (ibid , III 140)

37-14 BC—Bhadrabāhu II, the great Jaina pontiff, twenty-seventh successor of Mahāvīra, and guru of Kundakunda

*32 BC—Mathura Jaina image inscription, gift by a lady named Vasu, of year 25 (*EI*, I 384, *IA*, XXX 37-38)

26 BC—Mathura Jaina image Sarvatobhadrikā of year 40 ESE (*EI*, I 387)

24 BC—Mathura Lion Capital inscription of Mahākṣatrapa Rajjubala and Soḍāsa of year 42 ESE and the Inscription of Maues of year 42

17 BC—Mathura Jaina Vodva Stūpa inscription of year 49 ESE (*EI*, X, App no 47)

14 BC-AD 38—Lohācārya, the last of the Ācārāngadhārīs and original founder of the Kāṣṭhā Samgha

*Bühler has interpreted the dates of these inscriptions in terms of VE of 57 BC But if they were dated in the ESE of 66 BC, as is likely, the dates whould be pushed backwards by 8 years

8 BC-AD 44—Kundakunda, the greatest leader of the Mūla Saṃgha in the south, and his works including *Mūlācāra* and the Tamil *Kurala*

c AD 1-21—Svāmi Kumāra, the author of *Kārttikeyānuprekṣā*, the Kumāranandi of Mathura inscription of year 87 ESE (*EI*, X, App no 7) and a guru of Kundakunda

c AD 1-50—Śivārya and his *Bhagavatī-ārādhanā*

AD 3 (ME 530)—Vimala Sūri and his *Paumacariu*

AD 6—Mathura Jaina Votive Tablet inscription of the time of Mahākṣatrapa Sodāsa of year 72 (*EI*, X, App no 59), also inscriptions of Taxila Satraps Liaka and Patika of the same year

AD 12—Taxila Copperplate of Kṣatrapa Paṭika in the reign of Mahāraya Mogā of year 78

c AD 25—Gunadhara and his redaction of *Kasāyapāhuda*, part of the Digambara canon

AD 26—Mathura image of Vardhamāna Inscription of year 92 (*IA*, XVI 1, p 13)

AD 26-66—Nahapāna, the Śaka Ksaharāta and Nahavāna, Nabhovāhana or Naravāhana of Jaina tradition

AD 37—Takht-i-bahi inscription of Gondophernes of year 103

AD 38-66—Arhadbali, the leader of the south Indian Jaina congregation

c AD 40-90—Umāsvāmin and his *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra*

c AD 40-75—Dharasena, the redactor of the *Mahākarma-prakṛtipāhuda*, part of the Digambara canon

c AD 50—Āryamankhu associated with the redaction of the *Kasāyapāhuda*

c AD 50-80—Puspadanta, the author of the first part of the *Saṭkhaṇḍāgama* in the form of which the canon redacted by Dharasena was reduced to writing

AD 56—Inscription of Mahārāja Gusana (Kujula Kadphises) of year 122 ESE (the Panjtar inscription)

AD 57-71 (ME 584-98)—Vajrasvāmi, the last Daśapūrvī of Śvetāmbara tradition

AD 66—The great assembly of Jaina monks of south India at Mahimānagarī on the river Venyā under the chairmanship of Arhadbali, the division of the Mūla Saṃgha into Nandi, Deva, Sena, Simha, etc , the Council sent Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali to Dharasena at Girinagara in order to take part in the redaction of the canon

c AD 66-90—Bhūtabali, the author of *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama-siddhānta*

AD 68—Kalawan Copperplate inscription of year 134 (*EI*, XXI, p 259)

AD 70—Inscription of Wima Kadphises of year 136 (Chir stūpa or Taxila

silver scroll inscription—*EI*, XXI, p 295)

AD 73 (ME 600)—Dharasena wrote the *Jonipāhuḍa*, a work on Mantraśāstra

c AD 75—Completion of the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* by Bhūtabali

AD 78 (ME 605)—Bhadra-Caṣṭanas come into power, occupy Ujjayinī and start the Śaka era, Caṣṭana, the first king of the Western Kṣatrapa line of Surāṣṭra, accession of Kaniṣka

AD 79 (VE 136)—Origin of the Śvetāmbara sect at Valabhī in Surāṣṭra, the finalisation of the schism between the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras

AD 82 (ME 609)—Origin of the Boṭikas (Digambaras) at Rahavīrapura, according to the Śvetāmbara tradition

AD 83—Mathura Jaina image of Vardhamāna inscription of year 5 of Kaniṣka (*EI*, X, App no 18)

AD 84—Mathura image of Sumatināthа inscription of year 6 (*JA*, XVI 1, p 13)

AD 85—Mathura image of Vardhamāna inscription of year 7 of Kaniṣka's reign (*EI*, X, App no 21)

AD 87—Mathura image of Vardhamāna of Kaniṣka's reign of year 9, mentions a number of Jaina nuns (*EI*, X, App no 20)

AD 91 (VE 148)—Foundation of the Yāpanīya Saṃgha by Śrīkalaśa, according to the *Darśanasāra*

AD 94-162—Nāgahasti, connected with Āryamankhu and Yativrsabha in the tradition relating to the redaction of the *Kaṣāyapāhuḍa*

AD 95—Mathura Jaina image inscription of Kaniska's times, of year 17 (*JA*, XVI 1, pp 14-15)

c AD 100—Kundakīrti, a disciple of Kundakunda and the first commentator of the redacted canon

c AD 100-150—Balākapiccha, the guru of Samantabhadra

AD 104—A Jaina guru from Rādhā (Bengal) set up an image at Mathura (*JSB*, IV 3, p 152)

AD 106—Mathura Jaina image of Vardhamāna inscription of year 28 of Huviṣka's reign (*EI*, X, App)

AD 107—Two Mathura Jaina inscriptions of year 29 (ibid)

AD 116—Mathura Jaina Elepthant Capital (Nāndīviśāla) set up by Śreṣṭhi Rudradāsa in year 38, in Huviṣka's reign (*EI*, X, App no 41)

c AD 120—Birth of Samantabhadra as prince Śāntivarman, the son of Killikavarma Cola at Uraiyur in the Phanimaṇḍala of south-east coast

AD 122—Mathura Jaina image inscription of year 44 of Huviṣka's reign (*EI*, X, App)

AD 125—Taxila Duckvase inscription of Jihonika of year 191 (*CII*, II, no

XXX, p 81)

AD 126—Two Mathura Jaina image inscriptions of year 48 of Huviṣka's reign (ibid)

c AD 130-80—Yativṛṣabha, the first commentator of the *Kaṣāyapāhuda* and the original author of the *Tiloyapannatisutta*

AD 130—Mathura Jaina image of Vardhamāna inscription of year 52 mentions Ārya Nāgahasti (*EI*, X, App no 53)

AD 132—Installation of an image of Sarasvatī at Mathura in the year 54 (ibid., no 54)

AD 138—Mathura Jaina image of Rsabha inscription of year 60 in the reign of Huviṣka (ibid , no 56)

c AD 140-85—Svāmi Samantabhadra as saint, scholar and author

c AD 150—Śivaskandaśrī alias Śivakoti, the second king of the Kadamba dynasty of Karhad, devotee of Samantabhadra, abdicated in favour of his son Śrīkantha and became a Jaina monk with his brother Śivāyana He wrote *Ratnamālā*, probably the first commentary on the *Tattvārtha* of Umāsvāmi

c AD 150—Candraguhā Jaina inscription of Girinagara (Junagarh) of Mahāksatrapa Dāmajadśrī (*EI*, X, App II, 966), Kānabhiksu, the first writer of stories in Prākrta

AD 152—Mathura Jaina stone slab inscription of year 74 of the reign of Vasudeva (*EI*, X, App no 60)

AD 156 (ME 683)—The line of Mahāvīra's successors who retained in memory the original canonical knowledge and depended only on oral transmission thereof, came to an end The Sarasvatī movement was now an accomplished fact

AD 158—Mathura Jaina image inscription of year 80 of Vasudeva's reign (*EI*, X, App)

AD 160—Mathura Vardhamāna inscription of year 82 (*JA*, XIII 2, p 10)

AD 161—Mathura inscription of year 83 of Jainadāsī, in the reign of Mahārāja Vasudeva (*IA*, XXX, 107)

AD 162—Mathura inscription of year 84 in the reign of Vasudeva mentions Kumāraka and Ganikagutta (*EI*, X, App no 1373)

AD 165—Mathura inscription of year 87 in the reign of Vasudeva (*EI*, X, App)

AD 176—Mathura inscription of year 98 in the reign of Vasudeva mentions Gaṇī Ārya Devadatta (ibid), completion by Yativṛṣabha of the original *Tiloyapannatisutta*, end of the 242 years' rule of the Śaka dynasty which had started in 66 BC

c AD 175-200—Phanimandala of the south-east coast changed into Tondaimandalam and the Pallava kingdom of Kāñcī founded

AD 181—Last known date of Nāgārjuna, the Buddhist scholar and a contemporary of Samantabhadra

AD 188—Jaina guru Simhanandi helped the brothers Daddiga and Mādhava in founding the kingdom of Gaṅgavādi 96,000 (Rice, *Mysore and Coorg in Inscriptions*, pp 32, 49, *MJ*, p 7, n 1)

AD 189-250—Mādhava Konguṇivarma I, the first king of the Western line of the Gangas of Talkad (ibid) He is also known to have issued a copperplate grant (cf *MAR*, 1912-13, pp 33-34)

c AD 200-250—Uccāraṇācārya wrote a *vṛtti* on Yativṛṣabha's *Cūrṇis* on the *Kaṣāyapāhuḍa*, Śāmakunda wrote a commentary on the canon, Śvetāmbara scholar Pādalipta Sūri, his association with the Muruṇḍas of Pāṭaliputra, and the devastation of that city by floods, etc , Mānadeva wrote a *Śāntistava* to bring peace to the city of Taxila afflicted by the onslaughts of the Tukharians

AD 233—Mathura Jaina inscription of year 299 ESE, recording the setting up of Mahāvīra's temple by Śarika and Śivadinā, in the reign of an unknown Mahārāja-rājātirāja (*EI*, X, App no 78)

c AD 250-75—Bappadeva, a commentator of the canons, and probably the spiritual preceptor of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman

AD 300-313 (ME 827-40)—Ārya Skandila convened at Mathura a council of the Śvetāmbara monks to consider the question of the redaction of the canon Simultaneously Nāgārjuna Sūri held another council at Valabhī for the same purpose

c AD 300-350—Kūcī Bhaṭṭāraka and Nandimuni, two early Jaina Purāṇakāras The latter of the two was the teacher of the Ganga kings ruling over the southern country (cf *MAR*, 1923, p 115)

AD 319-20—Commencement of the Gupta (or Valabhī) era

AD 339 (SE 261)—Jaina temple built at Kummuḍavāḍa The inscription mentions the gurus Gunakīrti, Nāgacandra, Jinacandra, Śubhakīrti, and Devakīrti (*JSB*, IV 1, Guerinot)

AD 345-425—Dinnāga, the great Buddhist scholar, and his *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*

AD 370—Matur-Nonmangala copperplate grant of Tadangāla Mādhava Ganga for an Arhat temple to Ācārya Vīradeva, in the thirteenth regnal year of that king (*EC*, X 73, pp 172-73)

c AD 370—Sonabhaṇḍāra Jaina Cave (Rajgir, Bihar) inscription records excavation of two caves containing images of Arhat for Tapasvināh for

the attainment of *nirvāna*, by the jewel among Ācāryas, Muni Vīradeva (*EI*, X, App, no 959)

AD 400 (GE 80)—Halsi grant of Kākutsthavarman Kadamba to Jaina Śrutakīrti Bhojaka (*IA*, IV, pp 24-27), Buddhist Vasubandhu and his *Abhidharmakośa*

c AD 400—Kavi Parameśvara and his *Vāgārthasaṃgraha*, the first Jaina *Mahāpurāṇa*

c AD 400-425—Siddhasena Kṣapanaka, contemporary of Candragupta II Vikramāditya, and of poet Kālidāsa, the early *Dvātriṃśikās*, Yaśobhadra, Prabhācandra and Śrīdatta (author of *Jalpanirnaya*) mentioned in the *Jainendra*

c AD 425—Śarvavarma, the author of the *Kammapaidi* and the *Śataka*, and probably of the *Kātantra* grammar

AD 425 (GE 106)—Udayagiri (Bhilsa) Jaina cave Inscription records the installation of an image of Pārśvanātha by Śankara Muni, a disciple of Gośarma of the lineage of Bhadrabāhu (*Gupta Inscs*, p 258)

AD 430-82—Ganga King Avinīta Konguni, a Jaina monarch and a sister's son of Kṛṣnavarma I Kadamba

AD 430—Avinīta's Nonmangala copperplate grant to his guru Vijayakīrti for the Uranur Arhat temple founded by Candranandi and others of the Mūla Saṃgha (*EC*, X, no 72)

AD 432 (GE 113)—Mathura Jaina image inscription mentions Dhartilācārya (*EI*, II, 210)

AD 432-73—The 42 years' tyrannical rule of the Kalki, according to Jaina tradition He was probably the barbarous chief of the White Hūnas who commenced his inroads in the reigns of Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta

AD 442—Hasakote copperplate grant of Avinīta to an Arhatāyatana issued in his twelfth year, mentions the name of the mother of Siṃhavarma Pallavādhirāja (*MAR*, 1938, p 1)

AD 453-66 (ME 980-93)—Devardhigani Ksamāśramana, the council of Valabhī and the redation of the Śvetāmbara canon

AD 458 (SE 380)—Sarvanandi wrote his Prākrta *Lokavibhāga* in the twenty-second year of Pallava Siṃhavarma, lord of Kāñcī

AD 460 (GE 141)—Kahaum (Gorakhpur) Jaina pillar with the image of Pañcajinendra (*Gupta Inscriptions*, no 15)

AD 464-524— Pūjyapāda Devanandi, author of the *Jainendra* grammar and other works, teacher and spiritual preceptor of Durvinīta Gaṅga

c AD 465-555—Bhāravi the poet, contemporary of Durvinīta Gaṅga, Viṣṇuvardhana Cālukya and Simhaviṣṇu Pallava

c AD 470-78—Mṛgeśa Varman Kadamba, a Jaina monarch whose several copperplate grants speak of his building Jaina temples and of donations for the benefit of the Digambara and Śvetāmbara ascetics Therein we find the first mention of the Śvetāmbara Saṁgha and also of the Kūrcakas, a sub-sect of the Digambaras The principal donee is Dāmakīrti Bhojaka (*IA*, VI, VII).

AD 473 (VE 531)—An inscription mentions guru Vīranandi of Balātkāragana (*JA*, IV, 3, p 82)

c AD 474-515—Hūna king Toramāna ruled from Pavaiyā on the Candrabhāgā He was a royal pupil of Harigupta and was probably identical with the benevolent son of the traditional Kalki

AD 478-513—Ravivarman Kadamba, a devoted Jaina His several copperplate grants speak of his pious acts, of the Jaina festival of Aṣṭāhnikā, of the Cāturmāsa Yoga of Jaina ascetics, of donations of Jaina temples, etc His principal donee was Bandhusena, the son of Dāmakīrti Bhojaka, Muni Haridatta and Muni Kumāradatta (*IA*, VI), the King's brother Bhānuvarma also gave a grant to Bhojaka Paṇḍara for the ablution ceremony of Jinendra on every full moon (ibid.)

AD 479 (GE 159)—Pahārpur (Bengal) Jaina Inscription records a grant by a Brahmin family to the Jaina pontiff of Vaṭagohālī establishment, who belonged to the line of Guhanandi of the Pañcastūpa-nikāya and a resident of Kāśī (*EI*, XX, pp 61-64)

AD 482-522—Gaṅga king Durvinīta Konguṇi, pupil of Pūjyapāda Devanandi and patron of poet Bhāravi, issued several copperplate grants (cf *MAR*, 1912, 1926, *EC*, XII, the *Avantīsundarī Kathāsāra*)

AD 505 (SE 427)—The *Pañcasiddhāntikā* of Varāhamihira

AD 513-38—Harivarma Kadamba, a devout Jaina His copperplate grants in the fourth and fifth regnal years speak of donations to Jaina temples and gurus and for other purposes prescribed by Jainism The records show that his uncle Śivaratha, a cousin of Kṛṣnavarma II, with his son, prince Devavarma, and his friend the Saindraka king Bhānuśakti, was devoted to Jainism Among the donees, Vāriṣeṇācārya of the Kūrcaka Samgha is mentioned (*IA*, VI and VII)

AD 552—Gummareddipur copperplate of Durvinīta of his fortieth year (*MAR*, 1926, p 7)

AD 525-50—Bhadrabāhu III and his *Niryuktis* He was a brother of Varāhamihira, the astronomer

AD 532-33 (VE 589)—Mandasore inscription of Yaśodharman of Malwa, the rival of Mihirakula Hūna

AD 549 (SE 471)(?)—Altem inscription of Cālukya Pulakeśin I who at the request of his feudatory Sāmiyāra of the Saindraka family gave grant for a Jaina temple to Jinanandi, a disciple of Nāgadeva and grand-disciple of Siddhanandi Citakācārya of the Kakopala line (*IA*, VII, no 44, pp 209-17)

c AD 550—Gunanandi and his *Jainendraprakriyā*, Muskara Ganga, the successor of Durvinīta Ganga, built Muṣkara Basadi near Bellary (*Gangas of Talkad*, p 45), Rājarṣi Devagupta, a later Gupta King, became a Jaina monk whose guru was Harigupta, also of the Gupta family, poet Subandhu and his *Vāsavadattā*

c AD 550-600—Siddhasena Divākara and his *Sanmatisutta*

AD 560—The *Kṣetrasamāsa*, a work on mathematics by Jinabhadragani (*JA*, II 2, p. 49)

AD 567—Cālukya Kīrtivarman I gave grant to a Jaina temple (*JSB*, IV 1, p 32, Guerinot)

c AD 575—Vakragrīva and his *Navaśabdavācya*

c AD 575-625—Pātrakesari and his *Trilaksana Kadarthana*

AD 582-604—Vajranandi and his *Navastotra*

AD 585 (SE 507)—Ravikīrti built a temple at Aihole (*JSB*, IV 1, p 31, Guerinot)

AD 587 (SE 509)—Death of astronomer Varāhamihira (Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p 160)

AD 590-650—Bhartrhari and his *Vākyapadīya* (*NKC*, Introduction)

c AD 600—Mallavādī and his *Dvādaśāranayacakra*, Samghadāsagani and his *Vasudevahindi* and *Vrhat Kalpabhāṣya*, Sumatideva and his *ṭīkā* on *Sanmatisutta*, Mānatunga and his *Bhaktāmarastotra*, approximate date of the Tamil classics, *Pattinapalai*, *Śilappadikāram*, and *Manimekhalai*

AD 600-625—Poet Śrīvardhadeva, contemporary of poet Daṇḍī and his *Cūḍāmani*

AD 600-660—Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, the Mīmāmsaka scholar

AD 604 (SE 526)—Foundation of the Dramila Samgha at Madura by Vajranandi and others The great age of Tamil literary activity

AD 606-47—King Harṣavardhana of Kannauj, poet Bāna and his Jaina friend Vīradeva Ksapanaka

AD 608-42—Pulakeśin II, the Western Cālukya emperor of Badāmī

AD 609 (SE 531)—Jinabhadra Kṣamāśramana completed his *Viśeṣāvaśyaka-bhāṣya* at Valabhī in the reign of Maitraka king Śilāditya I

c. AD 610—Mahendravarman I, the Pallava king of Kāñcī, patronized Jainism, Jaina caves of Sittanavassal with fresco paintings (Smith, *Early History of India*, p 471).

AD 619—King Śaśānka of Bengal.

AD 623 (VE 680)—Śankaragaṇa, the Kalacuri king of Cedi, founded the Jaina centre of Kulpāka (*JA*, XII 1, p 45)

AD 625-75—Akalanka, the great logician

AD 629-44—Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, visited India

AD 634 (SE 556)—Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II, grant to Ravikīrti, the author of the inscription, for a Jaina temple, mentions Kālidāsa and Bhāravi (*EI*, VI, p 4), Adur (Dharwar) inscription of a Cālukya king, recording a grant to a Jaina temple built by the Nagaraseṭha (*EI*, VI, p 46).

AD 634-35—Bednur grant of Bhūvikrama Ganga, mentions his feudatory Bāna king Vikramāditya Govinda Sacīndra who was a devout Jaina (*MAR*, 1925, pp 85, 87)

AD 642-80—Vikramāditya I, the Western Cālukya emperor of Badāmī, King Sāhasatunga of the Akalanka tradition and the patron of that guru.

AD 643—The All-religions Conference held by Harṣa

AD 643 (VE 700)—Akalanka's great disputation with and victory over the Mahāyānist Buddhist scholars at Ratnapur in the country of Kaliṅga, in the court of king Himaśītala to Trikalinga

c AD 650—Jaina caves at Dabarwali or the Torna Lena (Burgess, *ASMI*, III, p 2), Jaina astronomers Gargācārya and Rsiputra; an inscription mentions Kanakasena, the guru of Baladeva Muni (*EC*, II 2, p 2), Vṛṣabhanandi of Pañcastūpānvaya mentioned in a Śravana Belgola inscription of SE 572 (*EC*, II 75, pp 38, 40-41)

c AD 655—Persecution of the Jainas in the Pāṇḍyan country by King Sundara or Nendumarana Pāṇḍya under the influence of Śaiva Sambandara (*EHI*, pp 454-58)

AD 670-713—Śivamāra I Navakāma, the Ganga king, built Jaina temples and gave grant to Jaina guru Candrasena Ācārya (*MAR*, 1925, pp 91-92) and wrote the *Gajaśāstra*, a treatise on elephants

AD 673 (VE 730)—Svātisūri, a Śvetāmbara pontiff (*Bhandarkar's Rep , 1883-84*, p 323)

c AD 675-700—Joindu, the Jaina mystic and Apabhraṁśa poet, Jaṭāsimhanandi and his *Varāngacarita*, Mahāsena and his *Sulocanā-kathā*

AD 676 (ME 1203)—Raviṣena and his *Padmacarita*

AD 676 (SE 598)—Jinadāsagani Mahattara and his *Cūrnis* on the Śvetāmbara Āgamas

AD 681-87—Vinayāditya Cālukya and his spiritual minister Nirvadya Paṇḍita who was a house-pupil of Pūjyapāda Akalaṅka of Devagaṇa

AD 686-87 (VE 608)—His grant to that guru (*IA*, VII, p 112)

AD 687 (VE 744)—The two inscribed Jaina metal images from Vasantagarh (Ojha, *Sirohi*, pp 31-32)

AD 697-733—Cālukya Vijayāditya and his grants to the Jaina gurus who were disciples of Akalanka

c AD 700—Hirematha copperplate grant of the Gangas refers to Durvinīta and his guru Pūjyapāda Devanandi (*EC*, XII, trans 23, p 7)

AD 700—A Nandi Muni is mentioned in an Inscription (*EC*, II III, p 45), a Jaina Inscription mentions Gandhavarman, Śrīsamgha and Śrīpurānvaya (*EC*, II, p 46), three Jaina inscriptions at Śravana Belgola and one at Badāmī, the first ones in the Kannada language (*IA*, X, p 61), Guṇasena, the disciple of Muni Guruvara of Agali, died (*EC*, II 8, p 3)

c AD 700—Padmanandi wrote his Prākrta *Jambudvīpa-prajñaptisamgraha* at Bārā which was then being ruled by Satti Bhūpāla, Aparājita Sūri alias Śrīvijaya and his *Vijayodayāṭīkā*, Kumāranandi and his *Vādanyāya*, Jinasena I, the author of the *Vardhamānapurāna*, Dhanañjaya, the Jaina poet, and his works, Halegiri inscription of Cālukya Vijayāditya mentions Koppana tīrtha (*KHR*, II 1, p 48)

c AD 700-750—Siddhasena III and his *Nyāyāvatāra*, Āryanandi of Pañcastūpānvaya, the guru of Svāmī Vīrasena, Elācārya of Citrakūṭapura, the teacher of Vīrasena in Siddhānta

AD 710-90—Svāmī Vīrasena and his famous commentaries on the Digambara canonical works

AD 713-26—Ganga king Rācamalla Aireganga

AD 723 (ME 1250)—Śvetāmbara Dinnaginna Sūri The *Bhagavatī* and the six *Angas* in their original form are said to have been lost at this time (*PR*, III, App , no 22)

c AD 725—Caturmukha, the great Apabhramśa poet, Vrhat Anantavīrya, the first known commentator of Akalanka

AD 725-50—Dharmottara and his *Tippana* on Dharmakīrti's *Nyāyabindu*

c AD 725-825—Haribhadra Sūri, the son of Yākinī, a great Śvetāmabara scholar and author

c AD 725-50—Vimalacandra alias Vādisimha, a protégé of Śrīpurusa Gaṅga and instructor in politics to the Nirgunda chief

AD 726-76—Gaṅga king Śrīpuruṣa Muttarasa, a great Jaina monarch, the Śatrubhayaṅkara of Vimalacandra's tradition.

AD 729 (SE 651)—Lakṣmeśvara inscription of Cālukya Vijayāditya, grant to the disciples of Akalaṅka (*IA*, XII, p 112)

AD 733—In the same reign one Vikkīrṇaka gave grant to the Śaṅkha Jinālaya of Purigere (*MER*, 1936, E 34)

AD 733-46—Cālukya Vikramāditya II, gave grants to Jaina temples and gurus of Akalanka's line (*JA*, XIII, p. 33)

AD 735—Cālukya Vikramāditya's grant to Śankha Jinālaya (*IA*, XXX, p 106)

AD 743 (VE 800)—Bappabhaṭṭa Sūri, the spiritual adviser of King Amma of Kannauj.

AD 746—Vanarāja Chāvḍā with the blessings of a Jaina monk founded Anhilapura Pattana and built a temple of Pārśva in that city (*BG*, I 2).

AD 749—Buddhist Śāntarakṣita in his *Tattvasamgrahakārikā*, criticised Jaina doctrines (*Hist Ind Logic*, p. 125)

c AD 750—Revival of the literary activity of the Jainas in Tamil countries when some of the best works in that language were produced, Siddhasenagani, the first Śvetāmbara commentator of the *Tattvārtha* of Umāsvāmi, Anantakīrti I and his *Prāmānyabhanga*, a Vallamalli record in Kannada and Grantha characters mentions the setting up of an image of Devasena, the disciple of Bhānunandi and the guru of a Bāṇa king, by Ajjanandi (*MER*, inscription nos 7 and 8 of 1895, *Top List*, I, p 120)

AD 750—Restoration of a Jaina temple at Chikkaballapura (*EC*, X 29), the Prabhācandra Epitaph at Śravaṇa Belgola (*EI*, IV 2)

AD 750-800—Kumārasena Guru or Vṛddha Kumārasena

AD 750-805—Prabhācandra of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions

AD 756-73—Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa I Śubhatuṅga and the Ellora cave temples.

AD 762 (SE 684)—Eastern Cālukya Viṣṇuvardhana III of Veṅgī, mentioned in a grant to Jaina Kalibhadrācārya Queen Ayyanna Mahādevī renewed an earlier grant (*SSIJ*, p 67; *Ep R S Circle*, 1917-18, p 116)

AD 764-99—Eastern Cālukya Viṣnuvardhana IV, the patron of Ugrāditya

c AD 770-800—Parvādimalla or Mallavādī II, a grand-disciple of Vimalacandra, patronised by Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣna I. He wrote a commentary on Dharmottara's *Ṭippana* on the *Nyāyabindu*.

c AD 770-840—Ugrāditya and his *Kalyānakāraka* (*c* AD 800).

c AD 770-850—Jinasena Svāmi of the Sena Saṅgha, disciple of Vīrasena, preceptor of Amoghavarṣa I, and the author of the *Pārśvābhyudaya*,

the *Ādipurāṇa*, etc.

AD 772 (VE 829)—Foundation of the Tomara dynasty at Delhi, the first king being Jāju (*Rājāvali* of Delhi, *JSB*, IV 4, p. 249).

AD 773-78—Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda II.

AD 775-825—Vidyānandi, the great logician, and his works, contemporary of Śankara and Sureśvara and patronised by several Gaṅga kings

AD 775-95—Svayambhū, the great Apabharaṁśa poet, and his *Rāmāyana*, his partons Dhanañjaya, the royal banker of Kannauj, and Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhruva Dhārāvarṣa

AD 776—Devarahalli plates of the Gaṅga king Śrīpurusa, granting villages in the Nirguṇḍa country at the instance of Kandacci, a Nirguṇḍa queen, for the Lokatilaka temple built by her, mentions Candranandi, Kumāranandi, Kīrtinandi, Vimalacandra, etc , of the Mūla Nandi Samgha, Eregittura Gana, Pulikala Gaccha (*EC*, IV, ng 85, p 135), Narasimhapura plates of Śrīpuruṣa to Jaina temple of Tolla (*MAR*, 1920, p 28)

AD 776 (SE 698)—Copperplate grant of Śrīpurusa Ganga for Jaina temple of Śrīpura (Guerinot, no 121), Vidyānandi composed his *Śrīpura Pārśvanāthastotra*

AD 777—Śrīpuruṣa retired and abdicated in favour of his son Śivamāra II, a patron of Vidyānandi

AD 778 (SE 699)—Udyotana Sūri alias Dākṣinya Ciñha, a grandson of the ruler of Mahādvārā, the disciple of Ravibhadra and a pupil of Haribhadra, wrote his *Kuvalayamālā* in the Rsabhadeva temple at Jābālipur, in the reign of Vatsarāja, the Gurjara Pratihāra king of Bhinnamāla

AD 779-93—Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor Dhruva Dhārāvarṣa Nirupama, the Śrīvallabha of Jinasena, the Boddana Rāya of Vīrasena and the Dhavalaiya of Svayambhū His son Govinda III Jagatuṅga was heir-designate and ruled as viceroy of Nāsikadeśa and Mayūrakhaṇḍī region

AD 780 (VE 838)—Date of the completion of the *Dhavala* by Vīrasena at Vāṭagrāma under the viceroyalty of Jagatungadeva and in the reign of Dhruva Dhārāvarṣa

AD 781—Nārāyanadevī, a celebrated Jaina lady, wife of the minister Nināga at Śrīpattana (*Bhandarkar Rep* , *1883-84*, p 322).

AD 783—Jinasena Sūri Punnāṭa wrote his *Harivaṁśapurāna* in the Pārśvanātha temple of the Nannarāja Basati at Vardhamānapura and in the Śāntināthа temple of the near-by Dostaṭikā, when Indrāyudha

was ruling in Kannauj, Dhruva Śrīvallabha in the Deccan, Vatsarāja in Marwar, King of Avantī in Malwa and Jayavīra Varāha in Sauramandala

AD 784—Vatsarāja, the Gurjara-Pratihāra of Bhinnamāla, is said to have built a Jaina temple at Osia, in an inscription of VE 1013, i e, AD 956 (*ASI, 1906-7*, pp 209-42), Śivamāra Gaṅga was defeated and imprisoned by Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhruva and the latter's son Kambha was appointed viceroy of Gangavāḍi

AD 788—Buddhists of the Pallava country banished to Ceylon due to persecution by Śaṅkarācārya

AD 788-812—Mārasimha Duggamāra ruled over the Ganga kingdom

c AD 790—Death of Svāmi Vīrasena

AD 793-814—Rāṣtrakūta Govinda III Jagatunga Prabhūtavarsa

AD 795-835—Jaina guru Śrīpāla, poet Svayambhū turned ascetic

AD 797 (SE 719)—Śrīvijaya, a general of Gaṅga Mārasimha, founded a Jaina temple Inscription mentions gurus Toranācārya and Puṣpanandi-Prabhācandra of Kundakundānvaya (Guerinot, no 122)

AD 799—The *Kalyānakāraka* of Ugrāditya, Śrīdhara and his Sanskrit *Jyotirjñānavidhi* (*JSB*, XIV, pp 31-42)

c AD 800—Āñjaneya temple record of Mārasimha Duggamāra (*MAR*, 1932, pp 241-42), Ganjam plates of the same ruler (*EC*, IV, *sr* 160, p 143), Jinadattarāi, founder of the Santāra house, the whole line of chiefs devoted to Jainism (cf *EC*, VII, Sk 114, p 37), Nandi Hill boulder inscription (the place seems to have been an abode of Kundakunda) (*EC*, X, c 29, pp 204-5), probable date of the Kannada *Vaddārādhane*, probable date of the *Akalankacarita* and *Astaka*

AD 800—Inscriptions recording grants to Jaina temples by governors Viṭṭirasa and Vijayaśaktarasa of Ganga Śivamāra II (*MAR*, 1920, p 28)

c AD 800-825—Tribhuvana Svayambhū, the Apabhramśa poet, son of Svayambhū

AD 801—Jaina stone inscription in Īśvara temple of Basavatti (*MAR*, 1923, p 237)

AD 802 (SE 724)—Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III's Manne plates grants for the Śrīvijaya Basadi of Mānyaour, to the gurus of Udāragana (*EC*, IX, NI 61)

AD 807—Cāmarājanagara copperplate grant of Kambha who at the request of his son Śankaragana granted villages for the Śrīvijaya Basadi of Tālavannagar to Vardhamāna guru, disciple of Elācārya, the disciple

of Kumāranandi of Kundakunda's lineage (*EC*, II.35, p 8).

AD 810—Ganga king Śivamāra II founded the Śivamārana Basadi at Śravana Belgola (*EC*, II 415, p 180)

AD 812 (SE 735)—Kadba plates of Govinda III, recording grant for Jaina temple of Śilāgrāma, to Arkakīrti, disciple of Vijayakīrti, the disciple of Kalyānācārya, issued from the fortress of Mayūrakhaṇḍī, at the request of the Ganga chief Cākirāja because the guru had warded off the evil influence of Saturn from that chief's sister's son Vimalāditya of the Cālukya family (*IA*, XII, p 13).

AD 815-50—Rācamalla Satyavākya I, a great Ganga king, devoted to Jainism and patron of Vidyānandi, built a Basadi on Vallimalai in Vandwash taluk, N Arcot dist

AD 815-77—Rāṣṭrakūta emperor Amoghavarṣa I, a great patron of Jainism, and the reputed author of the *Kavirājamārga* and the *Praśnottaramālikā*, Bankeya, a great general and a favourite noble of the emperor

AD 821 (SE 743)—Surat copperplate of Karkarāja I of Gujarat branch, granting land to a grand-disciple of Parvādimalla, for the Jaina establishment of Navasārī (*EI*, XXI, p 133)

c AD 825—Anantavīrya II, the disciple of Ravibhadra, and a great commentator of Akalanka

AD 833 (VE 890)—Death of Nāgāvaloka or Nāgabhaṭṭa II of Kannauj, according to the *Prabhāvakacarita*

AD 837 (SE 759)—Completion of the *Jayadhavala* at Vāṭgrāma by Jinasena Svāmi

AD 840—Ugrāditya's discourse on the uselessness of meat diet etc., in the court of Amoghavarṣa I

AD 848 (VE 905)—Rāmasena founded the Mathura Samgha at Mathura (the *Darśanasāra*)

c AD 850—Anantakīrti II and his *Bṛhat* and *Laghu Sarvajñasiddhis*, death of Jinasena Svāmi, leaving incomplete his *Ādipurāṇa*

c AD 850-75—Śākṭāyana Pālyakīrti and his *Śabdānuśāsana* and *Amoghavṛtti*

c AD 850-80—Mahāvīrācārya and his *Gaṇitasārasaṃgraha*

c AD 850-95—Gunabhadra, the chief disciple of Jinasena, completed the *Ādipurāṇa* and wrote the *Uttarapurāṇa* and other works

AD 853-69—Nītimārga I Ereya Gaṅga, the Ganga king of Talkad, described as "a bee at the lotus feet of the adorable Arhat Bhaṭṭāraka" (*MJ*, p 26)

AD 854—Kangrabazar Jaina image of Pārśvanātha inscription of year 30

in ancient Śāradā characters, mentions Abhayacandra Sūri (*EI*, I 18, p. 120)

AD 856—Jayasimha Sūri and his *Dharmopadeśamālāvrtti*.

AD 858-76—Śīlānka and his commentaries on the Śvetāmbara Āgamas

AD 859 (SE 781)—Inscription records grant for a Basadi to Nāganandi Ācārya of Simhavaragana (*MER*, 1934, no 116)

c AD 860—Trivikrama and his Prākṛta grammar

AD 860 (SE 782)—Kannur Inscription of Amoghavarṣa I, for Jaina Devendra, issued from Mānyakheta (*EI*, VI 4, p 29)

AD 861—Ghatiyāla Jaina inscription in Prākrta mentions that the Paḍihāra king Kakkuka built a Jaina temple and gave it to Dhaneśvara Gaccha (*JSB*, IV 3, p 158)

AD 862 (VE 919, SE 784)—Deogarh Jaina Pillar inscription of the time of Bhojadeva of Kannauj and his feudatory Mahāsāmanta Visṇurāma, the governor of Lauecchagiri (Deogarh) Pillar was erected by Jaina guru Śrī Deva, the disciple of Kamaladeva (*EI*, IV, pp 309-10)

AD 871 (SE 793)—Kumārasena, disciple of Vinayasena, a colleague of Jinasena, founded the Kāṣṭhā Samgha (the *Darśanasāra)*

AD 873 (ME 1400)—Śvetāmbara Jyesṭhabhūti, in whose time the *Kalpavyavahārasūtra* was lost (*Peterson Rep* , III, App no 22)

AD 875 (SE 797)—Saundatti inscription records grants of land for a Jaina temple by governor Pirthivīrāma, a noble of Rāṣtrakūṭa Krsna II (*EI*, App no 79, Guerinot, no 130)

AD 876 (VE 933)—Alur inscription of Vikrama Santāra, a great Jaina chief (*EI*, XVI, p 27)

AD 877-914—Rāstrakūta Krsna II Akālavarsa, patron of Jainism His grants to Jaina Basadi at Mulgunda, Bandnike, etc (*JBRAS*, X, p 192, *MAR*, 1911, p 38)

AD 878 (SE 800)—Pallava Mahendra Nolamba gave grant to Basadi at Tagetur (7 and 8 of 1895, *Top List*, I, p 120), Paliyakka Basadi of Humcca built by the Santāra king (*MJ*, p 220)

AD 881—A Koppana inscription records the death of Sarvanandi, disciple of Ekkacaṭugaḍu Bhatāra (*KHR*, II, p 13)

AD 886-913—The great Kannada poet Gunavarma and his Jaina *Harivamśa*

AD 887 (SE 809)—Biliyur stone inscription of Rācamalla Stayavākya II Koṅguni, granted 12 villages to the Satyavākya Jinālaya of Peynukadanga to Saravanandi, disciple of Śivanandi Siddhānta Bhaṭṭāraka (*EC*, I 2)

AD 893 (SE 815)—Stone inscription mentions that the sons of Maṅgala

Seṭṭhi, a nobleman in the reign of Mahendra Rāja Nolamba, gave grant to the Basadi at Dharmapurī to Kanakasena, the disciple of Vinayasena of Pogariganạ, Senānvaya, Mūla Saṃgha (304 of 1901, *Top List*, II, p 1211, *EI*, X, pp 54-70); another inscription mentions Ganasena with Kanakasena (*Top List*, II, p 1003)

AD 897—Tolapuruṣa Vikrama Santāra built a Basadi for Muni Siddhānta Bhaṭṭāraka of Kundakunda's line (*EC*, VIII, nr 60, p 154)

AD 898—Same king built the Guddada Basadi at Humcca and dedicated it to Bāhubali (*MAR*, 1929, p 7)

AD 898 (SE 820)—Lokasena, the disciple of Gunabhadra, instituted public worship of the latter's *Mahāpurāna* at Bankāpura under his patron Lokāditya

c AD 900—Manḍalapuruṣa, a disciple of Lokasena of the Senagana, is a great name in Tamil literature

AD 900—Grant of king Vikrama Varaguna in his twenty-eighth year, to a disciple of Ariṭṭanemi Bhaṭṭāra of Perayakuḍi (*Travancore Manual*, II, pp 194-95), Cikka Hansoga Basadi record of a Jaina noble lady Jakkiyabbe who was a capable administrator (*MAR*, 1912-13, p 38)

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Index